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THE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
1783,

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AFFAIRS OF
EUROPE AND HER COLONIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF THE
BARON JOHN VON MÜLLER.

COMPARED THROUGHOUT WITH THE ORIGINAL, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED BY A NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF THE AUTHOR,

BY ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE

BARON JOHN VON MÜLLER.

IN a collection which aims, in any degree, at the character of a complete body of literature, a work on Universal History is of course indispensable. To furnish one of a satisfactory kind has not been the least difficult part of the present undertaking. The voluminous treatises, which alone can be supposed to do full justice to the subject, are too extensive for our limits; while, on the other hand, the abridgements, which, without much attempt at philosophical or literary excellence, seek merely to present a general outline of the facts within a small compass, neither afford the moral and political instruction, which is the object of the study of history, nor excite the interest in it, which would lead the student to its further prosecution. Among the few works which combine, in a good degree, the two requisites of moderate extent and a proper execution, we have decided, without hesitation, in favor of that of MÜLLER.* It is, in fact, almost the only one, of this description, which, from its real merit and the high reputation of its author, has acquired a classical character; and, if it do not completely realize the idea of a standard work upon this great subject, it may be safely regarded as the best that has yet been written.

* Pronounced Miller.

The English translation, which we have adopted, represents with fidelity the sense, and, with some success, the style, of the original. It has been carefully compared, throughout, with the German text, and corrected in a great number of places, where the meaning had been mistaken, or was not given with sufficient distinctness. Great care has been employed in the preparation of the Glossary, and it is hoped that the work will be found as perfect as it could well be made, in its present shape.

A brief notice of the life and writings of the author may serve as a proper introduction, and may not be, in itself, wholly without interest. He was among the most distinguished literary men of his age; and, notwithstanding all that has since been done by Niebuhr, Heeren, and Raumer, still maintains his place, as the first historian of his country.

JOHN VON MÜLLER was born at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, in the year 1752. His father was a clergyman and schoolmaster: his maternal grandfather was chiefly occupied with antiquarian researches, and had formed an extensive collection of documents relating to the history of his country. Their combined influence determined the direction of Müller's pursuits, which his diminutive size, short sight, and delicate constitution, also naturally turned to studious, rather than active, life. Before he could read, he had become familiar, through the conversation of his grandfather, with the principal events in the annals of Switzerland; and at nine years of age he wrote a history of his native city. At thirteen, he began the study of the ancient classical writers, which he continued, through life, with

persevering assiduity. The familiarity which he thus acquired with their works, contributed greatly to the formation of the fine taste in style, which he exhibits in his own ; while the illustrious examples of the civic virtues, recorded in the histories of Greece, Rome, and his native Switzerland, inspired him with the generous though well-tempered enthusiasm for liberty, which renders his writings a very suitable manual for the citizens of a republic. It may be remarked, here, that, though a professed and even ardent friend of liberal principles of government, he never yielded his assent to any of the extravagant theories, which successively acquired a temporary popularity during the time in which he lived ; nor, though connected, in some degree, in his later years, with political affairs, was he at all contaminated by the practical excesses of the period. He sustained, on the contrary, through life, the dignified character of a just though liberal thinker, and an upright, moderate, and honorable citizen.

It was the original intention of his family, that he should study divinity ; and, in 1769, at the age of seventeen, he went for this purpose to the University of Göttingen. In preparing for the university, at the high school of his native city, he is said to have been, under seven or eight of the Professors, the only student ; a circumstance to which he afterwards attributed, in some degree, the thoroughness of his instruction. Göttingen, at the time when it became his residence, was rapidly acquiring, under the auspices of Michaelis, Heyne, and other eminent Professors, the distinguished place which it has since held among the literary institutions of Germany. Müller remained at the Uni-

versity about three years, during which time he employed himself chiefly with a view to his intended professional pursuits, in the study of Biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history. For assistance and direction in these, he depended on the instruction of Michaelis and Walch. In the historical and antiquarian studies, to which he also gave much attention, he was aided by the lectures and conversation of Heyne, Schlözer,—himself an historical writer of eminence,—and Miller, with the last of whom he resided. During his abode at Göttingen, his plans in regard to a profession underwent a change. His long-cherished love for historical pursuits, which had been strengthened by his intercourse with Schlözer and Heyne, finally became the ruling passion of his life. A tract, which he published at Göttingen in 1770, with the title, ‘The Church in no danger under Christ’s Government,’ is the first of his publications, and the only one of a purely theological character. In 1771, he left the University, and returned to Schaffhausen. The following year, he commenced his career as an historical writer, by a work undertaken with the advice of Schlözer, and written, like the tract just mentioned, in Latin, on the Cimbrian War. This work, however, like the one which preceded it, is valuable only as an immature essay of an afterwards celebrated author.

After his return to Schaffhausen, Müller preached with success, and received the appointment of Professor of Greek in the High School. About the same time, he was offered and accepted the place of private tutor in the family of the celebrated physician, Tronchin, of Geneva. He now abandoned entirely the

profession of divinity; but, although his theological studies had thus very little influence on his practical life, they probably affected, in a favorable manner, his character as an historian. He was led by them to investigate, with peculiar attention, the history of religion, by far the most important and interesting element in the grand action of the world's affairs: and he also probably imbibed, in part at least, from these studies, the serious and earnest feeling on this subject, which distinguishes him so honorably from the great historians of other countries, who were his contemporaries. Müller, though he formed his opinions precisely at the period, when the irreligious philosophy of the last century was in full glory, had the merit of entirely avoiding its influence. He was a believer in religion, natural and revealed. While Voltaire, Gibbon, Hume, and a host of other writers, were openly scoffing at every thing that wise men deem sacred, in works recommended to popular favor by the most seductive graces of style, Müller, with as fine a taste, and much more learning, gave the example of unfeigned respect for religion, and a deep sense of its value and importance. He devotes to this part of the subject, in his 'Universal History,' all the space which it can properly occupy, and he treats it, without affectation, in the true spirit of enlightened piety. He at the same time judiciously avoids any approach to controversial or dogmatical divinity. This reserve has been noted as a fault, by some critics, but is undoubtedly a real merit. The inconvenience of a contrary method is distinctly seen in the 'Discourse on Universal History,' by the great Bossuet, which, notwithstanding the preeminent tal-

ents of the author, and the acknowledged value of some parts of the work, is, in the main, a theological tract, rather than a history. Müller has attained, perhaps, in this respect, as nearly as could reasonably be expected of any one, the golden mean: but his work, though satisfactory to most judicious readers, was not entirely so to his own mind. The ninth Book, which is devoted entirely to the history of religion, was carefully revised and written over again. Unfortunately, the benefit of this revision has been lost to the world, by the accidental destruction of the manuscript.

Müller removed to Geneva, in 1772, and continued to reside there, without interruption, until 1780. These eight years were among the happiest and most profitable of his life. His duties as private tutor in the family of Tronchin were little more than nominal, and left nearly his whole time at his disposal, for the historical studies which now became his favorite occupation. He was domiciliated with Bonnet, a philosophical writer of eminence, and of the most amiable character, who treated him with the kindness of a father rather than a friend. Relieved in this way from the ordinary cares of life, he gave himself up with delight to his literary pursuits, and to the society of the enlightened and distinguished circles, which have always centred in Geneva, to a greater extent than in many much more populous cities. He here made the acquaintance of Mr. Fitzherbert, afterwards Lord St. Helen's, and of Governor Boone, of South Carolina, with whose ward, Mr. Kinloch, of the same State, he formed an intimate and lasting friendship.

In his correspondence with his young friend Charles

Victor von Bonstetten, whose acquaintance he had formed at the high school at Schaffhausen, and who had procured him the place of private tutor in the family of Tronchin,—a correspondence which was published in 1802, under the title of ‘Letters of a Young Scholar to his Friend,’—Müller gives a most interesting account of his studies and pursuits at this period. They are also dwelt upon, with evident pleasure, by Heeren, to whose elegant Memoir on the life of Müller we are indebted for most of the particulars included in the present sketch, and whose pen, like that of Goldsmith, adorns whatever it touches. It was the habit of Müller and his friends to read in company the great historical writers, upon whose works they afterwards freely and fully commented, in conversation. Of the Greek historians, Thucydides and Polybius were Müller’s principal favorites. They were his masters in political philosophy, which they had learned, in their turn, not from books, but from actual participation in the business of life, as generals and statesmen, or as intimate associates of the most distinguished characters of their day. Among the Latin writers, he was at first very strongly attracted by Tacitus, the deepest thinker of them all; but was not dazzled by the brilliancy of his style, which he thought in some degree affected, and a bad model. In his later years, he seems to have given the preference to Cæsar, and to have gradually come to the conclusion, that the first of generals was also the greatest of historical writers. “I confess,” says Müller, in one of his letters to Bonstetten, “that Cæsar almost makes me unfaithful to Tacitus. It is impossible to write with more purity and elegance: he has the true precision, saying neither

more nor less than just enough ; and he judges without passion, like a statesman. Tacitus, a philosopher, rhetorician, and professed lover of his race, sometimes grows warm, and might lead one astray ; but Cæsar can always be depended on."

Among the modern historians, Müller preferred the Italians, Davila and Guicciardini,—both statesmen as well as authors,—to Gibbon and Hume. "We are reading Hume," he remarks, in one of his letters ; "he is a fine writer, but excessively diffuse." It was, in fact, hardly possible for Müller to sympathize very strongly with Hume, on account of the difference in their characters. The sparkling vivacity of Müller's genius contrasted too strongly with the phlegmatic calmness of Hume, which arose, not, as in the case of Cæsar, from mastery over the passions, but from not possessing them.

Müller also studied, at this time, if possible, with still more attention, the great philosophical writers, Montesquieu and Machiavelli,—the latter, in his 'Discourses on Livy,' rather than in his Histories or his 'Prince.' "I am reading Machiavelli," says he, "and am confirmed in my admiration of this mighty genius. How far superior, in this case, is the commentary to the text !" Montesquieu is the subject of continued eulogy throughout his letters. These great writers are our best instructors in the art of thinking, and are those who gave the strongest impulse to the progress of political philosophy in modern Europe. If Machiavelli has produced less effect than Montesquieu, it is, in part, because his subjects are more local, and the language in which he wrote less generally known. He is more clear and true to practical life, without being less pro-

found than the author of the 'Spirit of Laws,' though perhaps inferior to him in richness of thought, and certainly in the delicacy of his moral sensibility. Müller read them both with equal profit, and comments largely upon them in his correspondence.

The studies of Müller would probably have been much less productive of fruit than they were, had he not fortunately been called upon to reduce their results, even at this early period, to a positive shape. He was invited, by a class of his young friends and associates at Geneva, to deliver a course of lectures on universal history, which he did in the Winter of 1778. Although the constant repetition, from year to year, of a course of lectures upon any subject, may not be very favorable to the progress of a lecturer, but may perhaps rather induce a sort of intellectual torpidity, it is certain, that the first preparation of such a course is one of the most useful exercises in which a student can possibly employ himself. Nothing tends more strongly to give precision to knowledge, or leads with more certainty to a careful survey of the whole field, with a view to the examination of any part that may have been neglected. Müller was almost alarmed at the deficiencies which he now discovered in his stock of historical learning; but was not the less fully satisfied, that a thorough knowledge of history, in all its branches, was absolutely necessary to a successful treatment of any one of them. "This business," says he, "compels me to a diligent research into the history of all ages and nations; for, without this, it is impossible to write, with success, an account of the smallest village. Since I read Abulfeda, I find that I look with different eyes upon Switzerland."

These lectures were delivered originally in French, and were afterwards four times repeated at Geneva, in the same language. They form the basis of the following work. The materials from which they were made up, and the steps by which they were gradually brought into their present shape, will be adverted to, after we shall have taken a brief notice of the subsequent events in the author's life.

Müller had already projected, as the two great objects of his literary labors, a treatise on Universal History, and a History of Switzerland. In order to prepare himself for the latter work, he employed the years 1777 and 1778, chiefly in excursions through Switzerland, and in studying the sources of the history of that country. It is a singular proof of the estimation in which he was already held, though as yet not distinguished by any publication of importance, that he was aided in these researches by the general concurrence of the whole country. The archives of the cities and convents, as well as the private collections of the principal families, were laid open to him, without reserve; while his native city, in contravention of the ordinary rule, permitted him to receive the emoluments of his place, as Professor in the high school, without the usual obligation to reside and perform the duties. Under such encouragements, he made rapid progress; and, in 1780, published, at Berne, the first volume of his 'History of the Swiss.' The title-page bore the date of Boston; so that Müller's first publication of importance saw the light, in some sense, under the auspices of the city in which his work on Universal History is now, for the second time, reprinted.

The work on Switzerland, as originally planned, and in part executed, would have been completed in about four volumes. The first, which was published in 1780, contained an account of the origin and early habits of the Swiss; the origin of the house of Austria; the successful struggle of the Swiss for independence; and the subsequent formation of the Federal Union: with the following events, to the end of the fourteenth century. This volume is finished in a style of great power and beauty, and is the only one which was written upon this plan. The second volume would have brought down the series of events to 1515, the epoch of the Reformation; and two others would have completed the work up to the author's time. He intended to have finished it in about two years.

It is perhaps to be regretted, that he did not adhere to this original design, in preference to the one which he finally adopted. But after the publication of the first volume, the work, through the intervention of Schlözer, was introduced as a part of a Universal History, then printing at Leipsic, and it was, in consequence, thought necessary to enter much more fully into details, than had been intended. The first volume was written over again, on the new plan, and appeared in 1786, under the title of 'Histories of the Swiss Confederacy.' The second volume appeared the same year, and the third, in two parts, in 1788 and 1795. The fourth was published in 1805, and the first part of the fifth in 1808, when the author's death, which occurred the following year, brought his labors to an untimely close, before he had even reached in his narrative the establishment of the confederacy.

Soon after the publication of the first volume of his 'History of the Swiss,' he visited Berlin, where he published, in French, his 'Historical Essays.' He was not received with much distinction by Frederic, who reserved his patronage chiefly for the literary men of France. In the following year, (1781,) Müller accepted the place of Professor of History at Cassel, and resided there for two years, during which time he repeated, in the German language, the lectures on History, which he had previously given in French at Geneva. He also published, at Capel, in French, his Essays on the 'Influence of the Ancients on the Moderns,' and on 'The Establishment of the temporal Power of the Popes in the eighth Century.' In 1786, the Archbishop of Mentz, who, in the political system then existing in Germany, under the name of the Holy Roman Empire, was a sovereign Prince, with the title of Elector, invited Müller to reside at his Court, with the rank of Counsellor, and take charge of his library. In 1791, he was created, by the Emperor, a Baron of the Empire. When the French took possession of Mentz, in 1792, Müller, who had no sympathies with the Revolution, went to Vienna, where he resided for eleven years, holding the same places which he had held at Mentz, of counsellor and superintendent of the library. During his residence at Mentz and Vienna, he published a number of essays on the political affairs of the period, among which may be mentioned those entitled the 'Dangers of the Times,' and the 'Surest way to obtain Peace.'

In 1804, Müller left Vienna, and went to Berlin, where he published essays on the 'History of Frederic

the Great,' and on the 'Decline of Liberty among the Ancients.' He was preparing materials for a complete history of the reign of Frederic, when the course of his labors was changed by the results of the battle of Jena, which, in 1806, temporarily subverted the power of Prussia. Napoleon, during his stay at Berlin, sent for Müller, and treated him with great distinction, which the historian repaid by a handsome eulogy on the Emperor, in an address to the Academy, upon 'The Glory of the Great Frederic.' This proceeding rendered him unpopular in Prussia, and, finding his residence in that kingdom no longer agreeable, he readily accepted a place that was offered him in the University of Tübingen, in Würtemberg. While on his way thither, he received information of his appointment as Secretary of State to the new kingdom of Westphalia, which Napoleon had just created for his brother Jerome. Müller accepted this post with reluctance. He was permitted to retire from it in 1808, and died the following year.

The publication of his works was commenced at Tübingen, in 1810, by his brother, as Editor, and they were finally completed in twenty-seven volumes. Of these, the correspondence alone occupies ten, and is probably the most interesting portion of his writings. The letters are addressed to his brother and other very intimate friends, and are written at all periods of his life, from the day when he left his father's house, up very nearly to that of his decease. "We have collections," says Heeren, "of the letters of many distinguished persons, of ancient and modern times; but none that run through so large a portion of the au-

thor's life, or give us so complete a view of his character. Among those that have come down to us from antiquity, the epistles of Cicero may perhaps most naturally be compared with those of Müller; but there is this difference between the two collections, that, while the reputation of the illustrious Roman is injured by some passages in his letters, Müller appears better in his correspondence than some of his contemporaries were willing to believe him. The collection of his letters is therefore the noblest monument that could possibly have been raised to his memory. In these, he has unconsciously (for they were written without any view to publication) painted his own portrait, at full length, for the eye of posterity. He appears not without some weaknesses, but with none that are not easily overlooked, in consideration of the nobleness and talent that constitute the prominent traits of his character."

Among the posthumous works of Müller, were the Twenty-four Books of 'Universal History,' which are now offered to the public, and which form, in the original, the first three volumes of the complete collection. They were made up, as has been already remarked, upon the basis of the lectures delivered on the same subject, at Geneva.

In preparing the materials for these and his subsequent publications, he began, in 1772, soon after leaving the University, and continued, till the tenth day before his death, the practice of making extracts from the historical works which he read or consulted. The number of works so used amounted, according to his brother, to seventeen hundred and thirty-three. The extracts were arranged into thirty books, under the general

title of '*Rerum Humanarum Libri Triginta*,' 'Thirty Books upon Human Affairs.' Upon this vast fund he drew for the substantial part of his lectures. It was his original intention, after completing his '*History of Switzerland*,' to have digested the lectures into a work on Universal History, and to have published them, accompanied by dissertations on particular points of interest, drawn from his copious collections, under the title of an '*Historical Library*.' It is much to be regretted, that this plan was not executed, and that this immense mass of materials, excepting so far as they have been used by the author in his published works, should be lost to the world. Perhaps the whole, or a part of them, might be found, on examination, to be in a fit state for publication, and might still be preserved for the benefit of the present and future generations.

The lectures, which were originally given in French, at Geneva, and repeated in German, at Cassel, were again repeated in French, during the Winter of 1785, at Berne. The introductory lecture was published in French, in 1784, under the title of '*Les Epoques de l'Histoire Politique des Principales Nations*,' 'Epochs in the Political History of the Principal Nations.' In 1796 and 1797, during his residence at Vienna, at the earnest request of his brother, he wrote out, in full, the notes originally used for the lectures, which were before in a kind of shorthand. He gave the original notes and a fair copy to his brother, reserving another fair copy for himself, in which, from time to time, he made corrections. It is from this corrected copy that the work has been printed. The intense toil to which he subjected himself, in making this copy, brought on a

fever, which attacked him while he was writing the last sheet, and seriously threatened his life.

The plan above alluded to, of publishing the work with large illustrations, under the title of an 'Historical Library,' was a favorite one with Müller, through life; and was resumed with ardor in 1802. The enthusiasm, with which he was then animated upon the subject, is exhibited in a pleasing way in one of his letters to Bonstetten, written in June of that year, from which the following passage is an extract:

"I am now completing one of the volumes of my 'History of Switzerland.' After publishing this, I think I shall lay the work aside, for some years, and undertake a far more noble and comprehensive one, for which I feel a special vocation, and which I should wish to leave behind me as my principal literary monument: (*Monumentum aere perennius.*) My meditations upon this subject employ me day and night, and, with the exception of the few moments that I devote to bodily refreshment, I can hardly be said to live in this world. I endeavor to elevate myself above all local and temporary influences, and to contemplate the various great events of ancient and modern times in their true character. Never, in my happiest hours of youthful enthusiasm, when I listened to the reading of Bonnet's *Contemplations* by himself, did I feel a stronger inspiration. I have, as yet, committed nothing to paper; but I assure you, that, from the interest I feel in the work, the affairs of the present generation, and even my own, become indifferent to me. While I remained in the public service, you may have noticed occasionally in my letters some degree of narrowness, for I was then obliged to give more attention to passing events. Now, the various pages in the history of men are all equally important to me, and I hold myself responsible for my conclusions to no one, but the invisible Governor of

heaven and earth. That sublime Being, to whose creating and sustaining power the conquerors of Zama, Leuctra, and Murten, the Cæsars, the Trajans, the Williams, and the Frederics, owed their lofty courage and patriotism; who endowed with wisdom and eloquence Polybius, and Tacitus, the Stagyrice, and the Venusian; will make known to me what place must be allotted to each in history. Enough, and perhaps too much, of this: but in such a *fullness of time*, (*consummatio seculorum*,) as the present period, shall there be no summing up of accounts? And can this be done without warmth? I am all on fire, when I think of the work. I feel myself as young, as when we wandered together over the higher Alps, and am full of affectionate regard for all the great men, whose names I propose to rescue from the night of the future."

He finally reserved the task of revising and publishing his lectures for his residence at the university of Tübingen, to which, as has been said, he was invited by the King of Würtemberg, in the year 1807: but this determination, with the rest of his literary plans, was again changed by his appointment as Secretary of State to the King of Westphalia; and death at length surprised him, before the favorite project of his life had been put in execution.

The work, in its present form, was not considered by him as finished. In a letter to his brother, written some years before his death, he says, "The work on Universal History will become quite a different thing, if I should live long enough to make use of the immense materials that I have collected, and the results of my long experience and anxious meditation, in a careful revisal of this sketch." In his testament, he even ex-

pressed a doubt whether the work, which he had not then seen for some years, could be published entire, and left it to his brother to select for the press such parts as he might think proper.

That Müller, by enlarging his plan, so as to enable him to use a greater amount of the materials which he had collected, might have produced a more extended, and, in that respect, a more valuable work, is probable ; but it may well be doubted whether, by any process of revision, he could have made the present one much better than it is. After having been several times written over, in two languages, and kept in manuscript, for a series of years, under constant correction, it had unquestionably reached, so far as the mere forms of expression are concerned, all the perfection which the author could give it. Nor would it be possible, within the same compass, to introduce, with advantage, a greater number of facts, which, in some parts, already crowd upon each other almost too closely for perfect distinctness. It is not easy to see how the arrangement of the materials could be improved. In short, the 'Universal History' exhibits distinctly, in its present form, the results of a judicious plan, vigorously conceived in the ardor of early manhood, and wrought upon, with extraordinary care, through the whole course of a laborious life. These are the elements that go to the composition of the best works ; and, notwithstanding the disparaging estimate which the author's fastidious modesty induced him to put upon it, we may safely consider it as a very perfect one of its kind. A larger work upon the same subject would have been more valuable, as has been said, for certain purposes ; but would

not have superseded this, which is well fitted, by its moderate extent, for general perusal.

The opinion, which seems to be not uncommon among authors, that a work which has met with success may be greatly improved by being written over again, is probably, in most cases, a mere delusion, and though occasionally acted upon, has rarely, if ever, been justified by the result. Tasso, after producing the 'Jerusalem Delivered,' at about one-and-twenty years of age, employed the greater part of his subsequent life in writing it over again; but critics and common readers have always concurred in preferring the first draft. Akenside's attempt to improve the 'Pleasures of Imagination' met with the same fate. It is obvious, in fact, that the first flow of thought and feeling, upon a favorite topic, will naturally possess a peculiar freshness and flavor, which cannot well belong to any subsequent effort. The author can only secure the advantage of these qualities, which are, after all, the principal grace and charm of every product of Nature or Art in which they are found, by retaining his first thoughts as the basis of his composition. At the same time, he should give himself all the benefit that he can possibly derive, in the way of removing defects and adding new beauties, by the most careful revision. This is precisely the process to which the 'Universal History' of Müller was subjected, by the force of circumstances, in a greater degree than almost any work with the origin of which we are acquainted. It combines, therefore, so far as the author's ability could supply them, all the ingredients of a first-rate composition. When we recollect that Virgil, with his dying breath, consigned the *Æneid* to

the flames, we shall not be much disturbed in our good opinion of the present work, by the reflection that Müller, in his last days, doubted whether it was worth publication.

The author's views in undertaking the work are concisely stated by himself, in a short preface written at Vienna, in 1797, in the following terms :

“ This work was written some years before the commencement of the great Revolutions, which are now changing the political aspect of the world. It was undertaken at the request of a number of young men, of different countries, who had some acquaintance with history ; and was intended to exhibit the author's view of its great outlines and spirit.

“ The execution of the work was rendered in some degree imperfect, by a circumstance, which may perhaps have entitled the author's other writings to a share of the public confidence. In preparing materials for his compositions, it has been his custom to employ as authorities those writers only, who are the original sources of our information. He considered this the surest means of making his works a correct expression of the peculiar character of the period they describe. But the number of the original sources, to which it would be necessary to resort, in preparing the materials for a work on universal history, is so great, that a whole life, devoted exclusively to the purpose, would hardly afford time for studying them. Could this task be accomplished, the work of preparation would still be only half done. Facts are furnished by books, but the key to the causes of events is only to be found in a free intercourse with the world. The most careful, judicious, and successful examination of authorities would be of little value to the historian, unless he had the opportunity, in addition, by a personal association with men of all ranks, to learn, from his own experience, the nature of the motives that regulate the progress of human affairs.

“The author of this work, after passing his earlier period very much in society, but in private rather than public relations to those around him, was employed, in his riper years, in several official stations, at a time of great political changes. While holding these employments, he continued, so far as his leisure would permit, the study of the original authorities. He has thus enjoyed, to some extent, the combination of advantages, which is described above as necessary to the successful historian. But when he wrote this book, he was still a young man, and his position was such, that, in composing it, he could not well avail himself completely of the voluminous materials which he had already collected, but was obliged to content himself with communicating to his readers the impression that remained upon his own mind, from a cursory survey of these materials, and a very limited experience of actual life.

“The work, from being thus composed, possessed some peculiar characteristics. It exhibits, on the one hand, very clearly, the leading traits in the author’s individual mode of thinking and feeling:—hatred of injustice and oppression; love of industry, liberty, and law; candor in the estimate of human weaknesses; and admiration for great talents and energy, when united with good intentions. On the other hand, the execution was necessarily unequal, and was in some degree successful, only in those portions where the subject had been thoroughly examined. Though the views contained in it were occasionally not without novelty, it was often deficient in the most familiar information, with which the author might easily have furnished himself from the common abridgements.

“The work, when delivered as a course of lectures, was received with apparent satisfaction, by a numerous class of hearers. Several persons of distinction, as statesmen, authors, or military commanders, to whom the author has since had occasion to communicate some portions of it, have also honored it with their approval. From these circumstances, he might perhaps venture

to hope, that, by sufficient care in revising and completing it, it might be rendered not wholly unworthy of the public attention. Unfortunately, while he has augmented the mass of his materials by extracts from eight or nine hundred additional authorities, and has increased his experience by continued intercourse with the world, he has not yet been able to command the time and leisure, which would be necessary for turning these advantages to account, in the improvement of his work. He has found himself, and still finds himself, compelled to reserve this task, which he has always regarded as the favorite occupation and principal object of his life, for that anxiously-wished-for time, when he shall be permitted to retire from public employment, and devote himself exclusively to the culture of letters, and the pleasures of domestic society.

“By the effect of a too laborious application to his studies, the author’s life has been several times brought into imminent danger. On one of these occasions, while reflecting calmly on the course of his past labors, he determined, in the event of his restoration to health, that the first employment of his recovered powers should be, to make a fair and legible copy, in the German language, of the original French draft of the present work, so that it might be in a state for publication after his death. Several motives concurred in inducing him to undertake this task: the recollection of the pleasure which he had felt, seventeen years before, in preparing the work; a hope, that, with all its deficiencies, it would be found to excite some useful and inspiring thoughts; finally, a wish to realize the pecuniary profit that might result from the publication, as a means of doing a little good even after his decease: for the author, acting in the spirit of ancient rather than modern times, had held public employments without accumulating wealth, and was anxious to leave the family property, unimpaired, to his successors.

“By a daily labor of from two to three hours, the determination, just alluded to, was carried into effect,

in about nine months. From the shortness of this time, it is obvious, that the work was merely copied, and not written over. The author has purposely abstained from continuing it through the period of his own official activity. This period has been distinguished by events of great magnitude and interest; the political experiments of the Emperor Joseph the Second; the alliance of the German Princes; and last, but by far the most important of all, the French Revolution. With the principal actors in all these movements, the author is connected in such a way, by official or personal relations, that he could not, in the observance of a just discretion, give his opinion upon them with unbiassed freedom; while he would consider any other mode of treating the subject derogatory to his character as a writer and a man. He will always be found the supporter of Truth and Order, with whatever party names they may temporarily be connected. This will appear, as well from the present work, as from the account of his own life, should he ever attain,—what has been for so many years his anxious wish,—the enjoyment of Leisure and Liberty.”

Such was the spirit in which Müller had conceived his favorite project. The execution of it, if it do not entirely correspond with his idea,—and when did an author of real merit ever reach his own standard of excellence?—will probably be considered, by most competent judges, as successful as the nature of the case would well admit. It is not our purpose to attempt a formal criticism upon a work, on which our readers will of course pass their own judgement. A rapid survey of the contents may serve to give, in advance, some notion of the richness of the materials, and the lucid order in which they are presented by the author.

It is one of the merits of Müller, that he gives,

throughout his work, not a mere genealogy of kings, and detail of the battles, by which they won or lost their crowns, but, in connexion with these, a view of the substantial condition of the nations, as determined by their political and religious institutions. He accordingly begins the work by an introduction, in which he describes the relative position, in these respects, of the different portions of the race, and sketches the outlines of the various forms of government; ascribing, with justice, the superiority of Europe and her colonies over the other quarters of the globe, to the superior liberality and excellence of the principles that regulate their internal polity.

Having thus laid out the field, he enters upon it, in the first Book, by a brief account of the origin of the race, and the principal events that preceded the Trojan War. This Book, in which the author relies chiefly, as authority, upon the Sacred Record, is also properly of an introductory character: for the narrative given in the Scriptures does not require to be copied in detail; and the accounts of these primeval revolutions, that we derive from other sources, are so uncertain, contradictory, and fabulous, that they hardly come within the scope of authentic history. Even the Trojan War, which is generally regarded as fixing the dividing line between authentic and fabulous history, is itself enveloped in the mist of a brilliant poetical mythology, to such a degree, that it has been disputed, by many able critics, whether there ever was any such place as Troy, and whether the heroes of the Iliad ever had any other than a merely poetical being.

The second Book of the present work, and with it,

the substantial portion of the history, opens with the entrance, on the political theatre, of the Greeks, the most remarkable and interesting, if not, in all respects, the most important, of the various communities, or clusters of kindred nations, that have figured successively at the head of civilization. Müller traces correctly, though rapidly, the origin of the liberal institutions which gave to Greece her distinctive character; and describes, with a few discriminating touches, the leading writers from whom we derive our knowledge of her history,—Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, together with the orators and poets who illustrate, so fully and agreeably, the state of society. After this, he takes up the regular narrative, and follows it through the grand heroic period of the Persian invasion; the brilliant age of Pericles, which has given such renown to the political ascendancy of Athens; the disastrous internal convulsions that terminated in the temporary predominance of Sparta; the subversion of liberal institutions by the Macedonian dynasty; the meteoric career of Alexander; and the universal decay under the reign of his successors, to the final conquest of their whole vast empire by the vigorous youth of Rome.

These revolutions are pregnant with lessons, on which republicans of modern times may ponder, not without profit, but on which we need not here enlarge.

The giant apparition of Rome next occupies the author's exclusive attention, for several Books. He first points out the literary sources of her history,—Polybius, Sallust, his favorite Cæsar, Livy, Tacitus, and the long list of orators, poets, and civilians, that adorn and illustrate her annals. He then traces her gradual

progress, from her obscure origin, and early quarrels with the neighboring cities, to the conquest of Italy; the overthrow of Carthage; the subjugation of the whole civilized world by the Cæsars; and the final fall of the stupendous fabric, which they had raised upon the basis of the Eternal City, under the rude but persevering attacks of the northern barbarians.

These narratives are interspersed throughout with interesting sketches of prominent characters, and correct accounts of the successive internal political changes. These were the real causes of the crises in the history of Greece and Rome, to which the military revolutions, just alluded to, only furnish an external index.

Having thus disposed of the materials which belong to ancient history, the author introduces, at this appropriate period, a Book devoted entirely to a review of the different Religions, considered under a secular, rather than a philosophical or polemical aspect. He first glances cursorily at the superstitions of the East. The revelations through Moses and Christ are then successively adverted to, and dwelt upon in the serious and respectful spirit of a sincere believer. In this connexion, the author presents a rapid sketch of the history of the Jews, from the foundation of the Commonwealth by Moses, to its final subversion by the Romans, and of the origin and progress of the Christian Church. He exhibits, on these subjects, though his notices are of course brief, a thorough acquaintance with the original authorities, and illustrates very curiously some obscure points in the history of Christianity. The favorable influence of our religion upon the fortunes of humanity, and its decisive effect in determin-

ing the peculiar character of the civilization of modern Europe and her colonies, are insisted on with convincing eloquence.

This Book will be read with deep interest by every one who is capable of appreciating the importance of the subject. Although it is evidently elaborated with great care, it was still kept under constant revision, and once written over, separately from the rest of the work. It is much to be regretted, as we have already remarked, that, owing to an accidental cause, the world has lost the benefit of this last revision.

Before returning to the regular course of his narrative, the author here introduces the splendid episode of the Arabs. He takes a view of the character and religion of Mohammed; its rapid progress under his immediate successors; the foundation of the Khalfate; the conquest of a large portion of Asia, Africa, and Europe, by the followers of Islam; their invasion of France; and the last great battle on the plains of Touraine, which forever settled the question, whether the doctrine of Christ or that of the Arabian Prophet should then prevail in Western Europe.

This brilliant topic, which has since been so beautifully illustrated by the elegant pens of our own Irving and Prescott, is, in every point of view, one of extreme interest, and well deserves to be made the exclusive theme of a long and elaborate work. It is treated with success, as far as his limits permit, by Müller.

We now come into the domain of modern history, and the principal scene of action shifts from the South to the North. The first object of interest, that we here

encounter, is Charlemagne, the only individual who has fairly incorporated into, and made a part of, his name, the epithet *great*, which the admiration of mankind bestows almost indiscriminately upon so many of their benefactors and oppressors. The illustrious Carlovigian family, which had rescued Europe from the threatened dominion of the Saracens, restored, for a time, the Western Empire ; but the decline of this family, and the early subdivision of the empire they had created, opened the way for the establishment of a new power, founded in different principles, which may be said to have taken the lead in the policy of Europe from the time of Charlemagne up to the close of the religious wars in the middle of the seventeenth century. We allude, of course, to the temporal power of the Popes.

The slow progress of this power, from impèrceptible beginnings, to the commanding height which it reached under Innocent and Gregory ; the influence, amounting at times to absolute dominion, which it exercised, in greater or less degrees, for ten centuries, over the affairs of Europe ; its long quarrels with the secular princes of France, England, and Germany ; the expeditions which it prompted into Asia and Africa under the name of the Crusades ; its gradual decline, as the prerogative of the kings was extended at the expense of the nobility ; the rude attacks which it sustained from the Reformers ; and its virtual destruction, after a struggle of a hundred and fifty years, terminated by a continued war of thirty ;—these events constitute, perhaps, the most interesting chapter in the history of the modern world. They occupy several Books in the work of Müller, and are detailed with eloquence, candor, and a

due sense of their importance. The historian, though a Protestant, is not a partisan. He renders full justice to the Church, which, with all its abuses, was the true parent of the civilization of modern Europe. He acknowledges, at the same time, the noble spirit of liberty which animated the Reformers, and gave the impulse to that long and successful struggle for political improvement, which makes up so large and honorable a portion of her recent history.

After the fall of the temporal power of the Popes, Europe,—which, during its existence, may be said to have constituted a sort of vast, irregular, ecclesiastical empire,—assumed the form of a cluster of independent states, the most important of which alternately exercised, according to the greater or less degrees of wisdom with which their affairs were conducted, a virtual predominance over the rest; like that which Sparta and Athens had successively maintained over the other cities of ancient Greece. Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second: Francis the First, and Richelieu; William the Third, Louis the Fourteenth, Frederic the Great, and Catharine;—figure successively as the prominent political characters through the remainder of the work, which terminates at the peace of 1783. The twenty-fourth and last Book is occupied by a survey of the political institutions of the several nations of Europe at that period, and their comparative importance in the general balance of power.

A portion of the twenty-third Book is devoted to an account of the Revolution in this Country. This is not one of the most successful parts: but its imperfections are of less importance, inasmuch as no account of our

own affairs, that could come within the limits of such a work as this, could supersede for us a distinct and complete history. A suitable work on the history of the United States will form a part of 'THE SCHOOL LIBRARY,' for which collection the present edition of this work has now been prepared.

The work of Müller terminates, as has just been remarked, with the peace of 1783. Twenty-six years elapsed between that time and the author's death. They were crowded throughout with political events of transcendent importance. But Müller, as he says in his Preface, was too directly connected with many of the actors in the French Revolution, to write its history with impartiality; nor had it, in fact, at that time assumed a shape sufficiently well defined, to have become a fit subject for history. Since the death of the historian, in 1809, thirty-one years have passed away, and seven years more than half a century now intervene between the close of the American war and the present time. Although the great social movement which has brought about the changes of the last half century, in all parts of Christendom, has by no means exhausted its force; and although these changes are far from having reached their final consummation; one period, in their progress, has been marked off with sufficient distinctness, and is now sufficiently remote, to be described without inconvenience. A work on the 'History of the World during the Period of the French Revolution,' intended as a complement to the 'Universal History' of Müller, and including the time from the peace of 1783 to that of 1814, will accordingly be prepared for this 'LIBRARY,' by the Author of the present Notice.

The character of Müller, as an historian, is drawn by Heeren, with his usual discrimination and ability, in the memoir to which we have already alluded.

“We know no other writer, who united so many requisites for becoming the first historian of his age; perhaps we may say, of modern times. Had he possessed a little more repose and steadiness of mind, it is not easy to see what would have been wanting to him. He combined, in the most remarkable degree, the capacity for research with the talent for writing. In thorough and persevering examination of authorities of all kinds he has never been surpassed. His love of truth was pure, unfeigned, and proof against all hypotheses. The prevailing error of his age, which made history a mere instrument for propagating speculative opinions, had no influence over him. His view of things, as they really existed, remained clear and firm. He labored for the mere love of the science. This motive, the purest of all, or rather the only one that is really pure,—unmixed with any other, excepting the desire for well-earned fame,—stimulated him, while yet a youth, and continued through life to be the ruling principle of his conduct. The study of history is pursued, by many, merely as an agreeable and instructive occupation. Müller entered into it with a fiery enthusiasm, which had its origin in a conviction of its great importance. History was, in his view, the first of the sciences; the nurse of every generous and noble sentiment; the parent of statesmen and heroes. He was full of his subject, and the deep feeling which he nourished in himself naturally excited a sympathetic feeling in others. In sagacity and discrimination, he may have been surpassed, but not in generosity or fineness of moral sentiment. He possessed a cheerful temperament, a strong passion for liberty, and a high respect for talent, especially as exhibited in political affairs. The world did not appear to him, as it did to Tacitus.

tus, enveloped in dark clouds, but rather like a fair landscape enlightened by a clear sunshine; and although the troubles of his later years may have changed, in some degree, his views of the present, he always sought relief, as a writer, by a contemplation of the brighter past.

“His love of liberty was not confined to particular forms of government, nor did it prevent him from doing justice to the characters of all distinguished men. Indeed, if the purity of his moral feeling was ever in any degree altered, it was by his admiration of greatness. The elevation of sentiment, which gives his works throughout so noble a character, was sustained in him by a lively imagination. This was, however, vigorous and true to Nature, rather than luxuriant and creative. It was always entirely under his command, and never seduced him into extravagance or affectation. He was aware that the historian must paint, not so much for ornament, as for illustration, since instruction is, after all, his principal object. In preparing himself for his historical labors, Müller early felt that he ought to possess some knowledge of the art of war; and he sought to obtain the necessary information, by all the means at his disposal.

“In speaking of his descriptions, we naturally think of his language. Who can estimate the merit of a painter, without considering his coloring? The style of Müller was peculiar to himself, like that of all distinguished writers, and in a more than ordinary degree. Its leading characteristics are conciseness and energy. He sometimes employs forms of construction that are singular, and even obscure. His style has been described as merely an improvement on that of the old chronicles of the middle ages; but this is a eulogy rather than a censure, since the chronicles are remarkable for native simplicity. It cannot be denied that Müller, by adopting a concise and nervous manner, instead of the feeble diffuseness that was before prevalent, greatly elevated the standard of historical writing in Germa-

ny. He has found many imitators, but none have yet followed him with great success. To conclude, we may say of him, with truth, that he gave popularity to the study, awakened a taste for thorough research, strengthened the love of moral greatness and beauty, and in no slight degree realized the high idea which he had himself formed of the character of an historian, as he expressed it on the publication of his 'History of Switzerland:' 'The historian must possess a natural freedom of thought, and requires for success almost all the endowments that belong to a great king.' "

Madame de Stael was particularly struck with the extent and variety of his learning, to which she has done justice, in some eloquent remarks in her work on Germany.

"Müller, the most learned of historians, is truly poetical in his manner of describing both characters and events. In order justly to appreciate his merits, we must distinguish in his works the man of profound learning, and the able writer. He possessed a mass of erudition altogether unparalleled: his acquirements in this way actually inspired awe in those who witnessed their display. It is difficult to conceive how the head of one man could contain a whole world of facts and dates. The six thousand years of authentic history were perfectly arranged in his memory; and his studies had been so accurate, that his impressions were as vivid as if he had been himself a witness of the events. Switzerland does not contain a village, or a noble family, whose history was not familiar to him. On one occasion, he was requested, in order to decide a wager, to repeat the pedigree of the sovereign Counts of Burgundy. He performed the task immediately, but was not quite certain whether one individual of the series had been a regent or a sovereign in his own right, and he seriously reproached himself for this defect of memory.

“Müller, who may be considered the classical historian of Germany, constantly read both the Greek and Latin authors, in their original languages. He cultivated literature and the fine arts, as subservient to history. His unbounded erudition, far from diminishing his natural vivacity, was rather the ground from which his imagination took its flight, and the striking accuracy of his pictures was the result of the scrupulous fidelity with which they were drawn.”

It would be unnecessary, and might perhaps appear presumptuous in us, to add any opinion of our own to these testimonials, from the highest sources, to the great merit of Müller. Our chief object, in the present sketch, has been to give interest to the work, by making the reader acquainted, in some degree, with the character of the author, who has not been heretofore very familiarly known to the American public. It may be remarked, however, for we have no disposition to exaggerate his deserts as a writer, that his publications, valuable and voluminous as they are, hardly do complete justice to his great talents and extraordinary learning. The present work,—the only one of importance which he was able to finish,—though it probably could not have been much improved by the revision which he contemplated, would have derived new value from the copious illustrations with which it was his intention that it should have been accompanied, could he have realized his plan of an Historical Library. His ‘History of Switzerland’ remains incomplete. The other publications, that fill up the twenty-seven volumes of the collection,—with the exception of the correspondence,—are chiefly essays on the current affairs of the time, and possess no great permanent interest. His con-

nexion with public affairs, though rendered necessary to him by the state of his fortune, was undoubtedly detrimental to his literary reputation. It absorbed much time and labor, that might have been better employed upon his studies; embittered his later years with many embarrassments; and probably shortened his life. It is much to be regretted, that he had not, early in his career, been permanently fixed in some suitable academic station, that would have afforded him the facilities, and the undisturbed freedom of mind, which he wanted for the accomplishment of his great plans. But his dependent situation, and the circumstances in which he was placed, threw him upon the great ocean of the world, then agitated by the wildest political revolutions; and all that remains to us of his literary labors, excepting the present work, and the first volume of the 'History of Switzerland,' are only fragments, saved, to use his own expression, from the shipwreck of his fortune.

Müller remained, through life, a single man. His social feelings, which were uncommonly strong, found an object in his friends, and particularly his brother, with whom he maintained a constant personal or epistolary intercourse, through life, and who became the editor of his works. Did our limits permit, we should gladly increase the interest of this sketch by further extracts from the author's correspondence.

The celebrated Heyne,* whose lectures and conversation at Göttingen contributed so much to form the taste of Müller, lived to lament his death, and wrote

* For a sketch of his Life, see vol. i. of 'Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties,' forming vol. xiv. of 'THE SCHOOL LIBRARY.'

some lines in honor of his memory. They are chiefly curious as among the very small number of verses which fell from the pen of the veteran scholar, who felt the poetical inspiration, for the first time, after he had passed his eightieth year. In the following translation we have preserved very accurately the sense and language of the original.

4 June, 1809.

LINES WRITTEN ON HEARING OF THE DEATH OF JOHN VON
MÜLLER.

*Ave pia anima !**

Has it then stopped ?—the finely-wrought machine,
The masterpiece of art ?—With that last breath
The spirit left it. Did the spirit, too,
With that last breath melt into ambient air ?
Or has it to the great World-Spirit gone,
Forever in the source from whence it sprang,
To live again ? Was it indeed a germ,
Planted on earth, but destined in due time
To soar aloft, through empyrean realms,
On wings of light ? Will it, in that bright scene,
Be conscious of its former self ? Recall
The friends it left ? Recall its earthly toils,
With and without success ? the constancy
With which it wrought ? the frequent hindrances
That Envy, Malice, and designing Fraud
Threw in its way ? Say, will they smart again,
The wounds it groaned with here, when Calumny
Gnawed at its well-earned glory ? Will it grieve
To think how far its best and happiest works
Fell short of its own notions ? Rather ask,
Will not the clouds that darken round our life
Be scattered there, and leave us denizens
Of a new world of cloudless light and love ?
It must be so. Right shall be Right in heaven,—
Too oft on earth a mask that Might puts on

* Farewell, pure Spirit !

For its own ends. Accounts unsettled here
 In that high ledger shall be strictly squared,
 To the last farthing. Here, Delusion dwells,
 There, purest Truth. Then give the mortal frame
 To the dark tomb ; and thou, kind mother Earth !
 Receive it gently ! guard it sacredly !
 That dust to dust may turn, not e'en as dust
 To perish : for the smallest particle
 That ever *has been*, were it but the meal
 That glows upon the insect's powdered wing,
 Or mote that sparkles in the bright sunbeams,
 Forever *shall be*. Man ! if this be true,
 Dost thou believe the Godlike in thy soul
 Shall vanish into nought, when this poor frame
 Returns to dust ? No ! it shall live again,
 And, living, ripen to the perfectness
 Which it was made for, and is fitted for.

 NOTE.

The dotted *ü* represents, in German, the diphthong *ue*, as the dotted *ö* represents *oe*, and the dotted *ä*, *ae*. Each of these diphthongs has a peculiar sound, distinct from that of the letters composing it. The dotted *ö* is sounded nearly like the *e* in *person* ; the *ä* is exactly the English *a*, as in *fame*, and the *ü* is nearly the French *u*,—a sound which is not found in the English language, but approaches our *i*, as in *Miller*, which represents, correctly enough for common purposes, the pronunciation of the name of the German historian. In some German names, which are of frequent occurrence in English, these diphthongs are fully printed, as in *Goethe* and *Michaelis*. The latter name is pronounced in German in three syllables, with the accent on the second, *Mica'lis*.

The *Von* formed originally no part of the name of Müller. *Von*, *Van*, and *Vander*, in the names of persons, are indications of nobility, among the northern nations of Europe, like the *De* and *Di* of the southern. Müller assumed it when he was created a Baron of the Empire.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

BETWEEN the earliest epoch, to which the Mosaic records refer, and the promulgation of the Hebrew law, which comprises the most ancient history that has reached our times, and is confirmed by accounts that may be regarded as nearly contemporary, a space of four thousand one hundred and fourteen years intervened ; and, from the latter era to the French Revolution, another of three thousand four hundred.*

This latter interval may be divided, in the following manner. One thousand years passed, from the time of Moses to that of Nebuchadnezzar ; a somewhat longer period begins with that conqueror, and, comprehending the history of the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman, monarchies, terminates with the sole reign of the great Theodosius, the last sovereign of the entire Roman empire ; immediately after whose time, the ancient throne of the Cesars shook under the reiterated attacks of the Barbarians, and fell, after having stood five hundred years. The third thousand years comprise the period of the struggle between monarchy and the ancient spirit of northern freedom, and between spiritual and temporal power ; and end, at the time when the Swiss delivered the King of France from the last oppo-

* See the Author's chronological computations, in note to Chapter III. p. 45.

nents of his internal sway, by their achievements in the Burgundian war. From that time, forwards, during three hundred years, wars were chiefly carried on, between crowned heads, until the American Revolution occasioned the seeds of a political change to be developed, which had long been secretly cherished in the bosom of the European nations.

For nine hundred years, after the first victory by which Alaric had shaken the ancient empire, citizens were first admitted into the States-General of France, which, like most other states, had been composed exclusively of the nobles, either under the authority of the king, or in conjunction with him. Six years afterwards, three individuals, in a field of the Alpine mountains, laid the foundation of the constitution of Switzerland, which, for a long time, was the only considerable democracy. Seventy times seven years elapsed; and, when this period was fulfilled, the citizens of France overthrew the king and the nobility; and, six years later, the Swiss confederacy reached the hour of its dissolution or of its renovation.

We have drawn the outline of the history of the human race, from the origin of authentic record to the Treaty of Paris, which concluded the American War; and this outline we design to fill up, as leisure and opportunity permit, and to comprise the whole work in twenty-four books.

CHAPTER II.

EUROPE.

THE continents, which are inhabited by the human race, were raised, in the course of unnumbered ages, by certain movements of the primeval waters, and by the influence of foreign worlds, the laws of which are scarcely imaginable, from the fertilizing bosom of the ancient

ocean.* Where the primitive rock, on which every thing rests, had those elevations which we name mountains, high levels were formed around their sides, and living Nature was there enabled to increase and develop itself. This happened in Europe later than on the hills of Asia, and, last of all, in America. For, around Ural, Altai, and Boghdo, a vast tract of elevated land reaches northward and southward to the sea: our Alps, on the contrary, break off too abruptly, on their southern descent, into that hollow, which is partly filled by the waters of the Mediterranean; and, on their northern side, Nature had a long struggle to maintain, while the basins of high mountain-lakes, broken, from time to time, by various convulsions, poured their impetuous torrents over the declivities, and frequently changed the lowlands, as far as the ocean, into an insecure morass. Accordingly, the noblest plants and animals, and man, their lord, natives of the healthful heights, and of the beautiful valleys of those mountains in the midst of Asia, came, driven by later exigencies, as foreigners, into Europe. Many adventurers followed their flocks; some, the chase; others were impelled by the desire of independence; while, through the love of tranquil enjoyment, the more patient East submitted herself, at an early period, to the dominion of a few.

The Alpine range, whose hoary tops adorn our Switzerland and the neighboring Savoy; which sends forth the Rhine to the ocean, and the Danube to the Black Sea, is continued, on one side, by the Cevennes and Pyrenees, on the other, by Mount Hæmus and the Carpathian chain, and stands, like a boundary wall, between the North and South. On the Apennines, which we may call its right arm, Italy has been formed;

* That all our continents and islands were formerly covered by the ocean, all Naturalists are ready to acknowledge; but it has puzzled them very much to assign an adequate cause for the subsequent elevation of the land above the surface of the waters. I fear, however, that the author's speculation will not be allowed to stand on a firmer foundation than the reveries of some other geologists.—*T*.

the left, running from Jura through the Ardennes, gave support to the interior country, and protected its recent vegetation from the incursions of the Northern Sea. The European mountain-chain sends forth many branches; the waters have formed secondary ranges, at its feet. Separate groups, without number, attest, in some places, the regular agencies of Nature, and, in others, betray particular operations of the elements.

It would be fruitless to follow, with eager curiosity, the stages of ever-progressive Nature. While the hollows of ancient lakes, laid dry,* and the bed of the retiring ocean, were gradually formed into abodes, well fitted for the dwelling of many separate and independent nations, the activity of the human race chiefly displayed itself on the two seas, which, to the South and North, either originally extended or have since opened themselves a way far into the interior. These inlets afforded to the people of Europe, a medium of intercourse, and a field for enterprise, which were wanting to the extensive regions of Asia and Africa. It is evident, that, from both these causes, the European continent was better adapted for the habitation of free and enterprising nations.

* Many of the most fertile valleys and plains in the world appear to be the bottoms of ancient lakes, laid dry, an exit having been opened, by some convulsion of Nature, or, perhaps, in some instances, by more gradual operations, for the waters that were previously enclosed by impenetrable barriers. The whole of Thessaly was said, as Herodotus informs us, to have been, for many ages, a lake, till Ossa and Olympus were separated by some sudden catastrophe, and the Peneus found its way through the newly-formed vale of Tempe. (See Dr. Holland's Travels, and Beloe's Notes to Herodotus. Polymnia, 129.) Very many extensive districts in Europe appear to have been the theatres of similar revolutions, and most of the great rivers were formerly mere successions of lakes, like the river St. Lawrence, in North America. (See the Notes to Professor Playfair's admirable Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory.) M. Volney informs us, that the level spaces, between the Alleghany mountains, and other parallel chains, appear to have been inland lakes, until the rivers, which descend from these heights, formed for themselves exits. In ascending the course of the Potomac, the traveller finds, after passing each ridge, by the section formed by the river, a new plain, higher than the preceding one. Many of these valleys contain independent coal formations. (See Volney's Account of North America.)—*T.*

All strength is physical or moral. The latter gained the advantage in the South, the former, towards the North ; but the whole earth is the inheritance of man ; and custom inured even the southern people to all climates and seasons, while culture has been able to open the genius of the northern barbarian to the discovery of arts.

Corporeal strength is the endowment of Nature ; the cultivation of the mind is called forth by ideas, and traditions handed down, the production of those long-forgotten ages which have elapsed, since the Author of our existence breathed into our inert mass the breath of life.

Traditional knowledge, the germ of all humanity, wisdom, and learning, proceeds from the mountains of the primitive world. In the North, on account of the hard struggle which man had to sustain against the sterility of Nature, nothing was preserved, by writing ; much perished in oblivion, or remained undeveloped. In the southern regions, knowledge was preserved and disseminated, at an early period, by the art of writing ; so that the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Etruscans, brought with them, into their respective countries, the inheritance of certain principles, which have been embellished or deformed, in various ways, wherever tranquil contemplation, or luxuriant fancy, or politic design, or a life passed on fertile plains which afforded an easy agriculture, or on smiling pastures, or amid the tumults of war, or among popular assemblies, led their philosophers into various habits of thought, and gave them a predilection for different representations. Meanwhile, the son of the North, who found in Nature the harshness of a stepmother, obtained, in his forests and morasses, only what was most necessary to support existence.

For the rest, we must look both for the northern and southern theatre of active and refined civilization, under that temperate zone, beyond the limits of which, exces-

sive cold or heat subjugate the energy of our nature. Under the rigor of the one, or the vehemence of the other, culture cannot well be introduced, or it will hardly be maintained in active influence. Most of the European countries are happily situated, especially where the vicinity of the sea improves the temperature of the air. Accordingly, the Europeans, who received all the arts from others, have carried them to greater perfection, chiefly because the North of Europe has many advantages over the North of Asia. Hence we may conjecture, that this portion of the globe is destined to perfect the results of all the labors of humanity, and to rule over the other regions, or rather, to renew their population.

Those necessities, which the indolence of man seeks the readiest means of satisfying, but chiefly the passions, whose variety and insatiable nature distinguish the human being from the brute animals, have given occasion to wars, ever unjust, except on the side of defence, which are like terrible but salubrious tempests; they have taken their origin, for the most part, in defective laws; they have roused the powers of the human mind, which were slumbering in effeminacy, and have led to the establishment of new systems of society. They are the fearful teachers of that eternal truth, that riches, science, culture, all the gifts of birth or of fortune, are vain, while man, in proud or luxurious sloth, forgets to maintain the dignity of his nature. Civilized nations, then, become the spoil of wild barbarians, when they relax the exertions of mind, to which, wherever it is manifested, all things are subservient. On those who display the greatest moral and intellectual vigor, Victory bestows her laurels. It was through these means, that the world became subject to one city, from the Hall of Fingal to the Ruins of Babylon; it was thus, that Islamism, in the course of eighty years, became the faith and law of nations, from the Ganges to the Ebro; it was thus, that an insular people, with one mighty arm oppressing the Indus, and with another

threatening Peru, have erected, on the most unstable element, an empire, that can only be destroyed by themselves. These are not the endowments of the South, or North, of the land, or of the sea: together with genius and courage, they are acquired and lost. He, who is victorious, has himself to fear; and he, who is unfortunate, has none other to reproach. It is by this principle, that Europe, a region of small extent, is enabled to hold in her hand the destiny of the world.

Hence arises the inference, that those habits of society and that mode of government are best adapted to the acquiring and preserving the most desirable objects of human life, by which the moral powers are developed and maintained, in the highest possible degree. In this point of view, we propose to contemplate the forms of government which have hitherto existed in Europe.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

ALL parts of the universe hold a mutual relation to each other; and, in the whole empire of finite nature, nothing exists for itself, alone. The universe stands in such a relation to its first cause, that it could not subsist, a moment, by itself. It belongs to us, to study the mutual relations of beings, which are not our works, but the productions of Nature; and the result of this study constitutes our *law*. The knowledge of this informs us, how we may be able to turn every thing which exists, to our advantage. In nothing, indeed, is man more distinguished from the brutes, than in the faculty of acquiring this knowledge; he possesses no other claim to the dominion of the world; but by his superior intellect, alone, he holds it in subjection. Moreover, as man, alone, is endowed with the power

of elevating himself to communion with the Author of all things, he stands, with respect to all subordinate beings, in the situation of those, (if we may venture to use the expression,) who, in monarchical governments, have the exclusive privilege of entering into the presence of the sovereign.

The *Law of Nature* is the result of our relations to the visible world, and especially to all beings endowed with feeling. The generality of men have comprehended, indeed, under this term, (fancying that they are under no obligations of duty, except towards their equals,) only that, which, after abstracting all personal and local connexions, every man owes to his fellow-creatures; but this part of the natural law does not embrace its whole extent, although it is obviously the most interesting to us.

Since all men possess not the faculties and industry, needful for sifting, to the bottom, these first principles; and since it cannot be expected, from the violence of human passions, that, among the various points of view, in which each affair may be contemplated, men will always adopt the most generally beneficial result, as the rule of their conduct; positive regulations were required, in order to support the natural law with a sufficient power, and, from time to time, with effective measures, against the encroachments of ignorance and self-interest. An endless variety of circumstances soon diversified these regulations, and greatly multiplied them, by giving rise to an infinite diversity of relations. Moreover, violent changes took place, which quickly gave to human society a new form, different from its primitive and simple state, and from the spirit and design of its first institutions: this was a source of more complex relations, which required new laws.

The increasing number of these obtained, according to the objects with which they were conversant, the designation of civil, political, public, and ecclesiastical, law. The minutest affairs were regulated by positive laws, since human passions extend to all, and require,

in every conjuncture, a distinct limitation. Yet the innumerable multitude of ordinances are capable of being reduced to a few general principles: it is only necessary to point out the particular applications, in order to confute the sophistry of those who will not embrace the universal scheme.

In some instances, the laws have either been proposed, or at least ratified, in popular assemblies; in others, the nation has submitted, silently, to the commands, which one or more individuals, who, by virtue or power, have raised themselves to be rulers or lords, have issued, under the character of representatives or protectors of the people. One man, or a body of men, has also administered the executive power. The variations, thus produced, constitute great diversities, in the forms of government.

Monarchy is that government, in which a single person rules, but is subject to limitations by the laws, over which a middle power presides, and watches for their preservation. The authority of the latter may flow from the splendor of a long succession of dignified ancestors, or from their destination to the defence of their country, or from their qualifications, as possessors of land. They are termed, accordingly, the nobles, the patrician order, or the parliament. In other instances, superior knowledge, in Divine and human affairs, imparts the privilege; as, among the ancient Gauls, to the Druids; and, for a long period, to the tribe of Levi, among the Hebrews. *Despotism*, which knows no law but the arbitrary will of one man, is a corruption of monarchy.

Aristocracy is the government of ancient families, and of those who are chosen, by them, into the senate. This assembly either consists, as at Venice, of the whole body to whom their birthright gives a share in the government, or it is a select number, chosen out of them, as at Berne. One branch of this form of administration is *Timocracy*, or that constitution, in which the laws define a certain property, the possessors of

which, alone, are capable of holding offices. This system, and aristocracy in general, degenerate into *Oligarchy*, that is, into a form of government in which the chief power, by the laws, or by descent or accident, is confined to a very small number of men.

Democracy denotes, according to the old signification of the word, that system of government, in which all the citizens, assembled, partake in the supreme power. When all the inhabitants, though not citizens, join with the latter, in the exercise of their high privileges, *Ochlocracy* prevails. This name is also given to that condition of the democratic form, in which, in consequence of bad laws or of violent commotions, the power, which properly belonged to the people, has been transferred to the populace.

The best form of government is that, which, avoiding the above-mentioned excesses, combines the decisive vigor of monarchy with the mature wisdom of a senate, and with the animating impression of democracy. But it is rarely that circumstances allow, rarely that the sagacity of a lawgiver has conferred on his nation, this good fortune ; and, when it has happened to be obtained, violence and intrigue have seldom conceded to it a long duration, in a state of purity. Sparta, Rome, and some later republics, but particularly England, have sought, more or less, to attain this ideal standard of perfection ; but governments of the simple form have always been more numerous and more permanent.

At the same time, it very seldom happens, that we find a form of government wholly unmixed. Religion and prevailing opinions impose salutary restraints upon despotism : in monarchies, it is not easy for the ruler, without one of these resources, to govern the nobles, according to his wishes. An aristocracy is generally indulgent to the people : it sometimes allows them a participation in the most important conclusions, as at Lucerne ; or in the election to certain high offices of state, as at Freyburg. In like manner, democratic

governments are, for the most part, held in check, by the influence of a perpetual council, which prepares affairs for the deliberation of the popular assembly.

By far the most common form of government is the oligarchical. How can the sovereign exercise his power, let him be as anxious as he may to govern for himself, without confiding, on many occasions, in the information and proposals of his ministers? A few party-leaders govern the senate and the popular assembly. The ablest, the most eloquent, or the richest, will every where take the lead.

The essential difference, between the forms of government, consists in the various pursuits to which a man must direct his endeavors, in order to become powerful in each. Another important consideration relates to the greater or more limited sphere, in which the ruler can exert his arbitrary will.

With respect to the former circumstance, there are scarcely any governments in which the ambition of men is directed, altogether, as it ought to be. Under a wise prince, those obtain power, who deserve it; under a sovereign of an opposite character, those are successful, who possess the greatest skill in the arts of a court. Family influence decides, for the most part, in aristocracies. With the multitude, eloquence and corruption often obtain the victory over real merit.

The natural desire of self-preservation does not prevent the abuse of power; human passions, full of resources, provide for all contingencies. Kings have surrounded themselves with standing armies, against whose accurate tactics, when no conjuncture of circumstances rouses whole nations to the contest, nothing can prevail. The party-leaders know how to put their private wishes into the mouths of the people, and thus to avoid all responsibility. Moreover, the depraved crowd, who receive bribes, and do any thing for the permission of licentiousness, would sufficiently protect them. An aristocracy is extremely vigilant over the first and scarcely discernible movements: it leaves every thing

else to its fate, and is willing to impede even the prosperity of a multitude which is formidable to it.

With all this, it appears wonderful, that the forms of human society could be maintained, in the midst of such various corruptions. But the greater number of men are neither firmly bent on good, nor on evil. There are few who pursue only one of the two, and that one with all their might; and these, moreover, must be favored by circumstances, in order to carry their endeavors into effect. Certain attempts are only practicable in particular times; and this forms the distinguishing character of ages, the regulation of which depends on a higher power.

It is fortunate, that even imperfect modes of government have always a certain tendency to order; their founders have surrounded them with a multitude of forms, which always serve as a barrier against great calamities, and which impart to the course of affairs a certain regularity, for which the multitude acquire a sort of veneration. The more forms there are, the fewer commotions happen. So great is their authority, that the conquerors of Rome and of China have been obliged to adopt the laws of the conquered countries.

Herein consist also the advantages of the Oriental and other ancient lawgivers; they considered as much the nature of men, as the circumstances of their particular subjects. Our laws, for the most part, only concern themselves with public affairs. That simplicity of manners, temperance, industry, constancy, those military virtues, which, among us, each individual must enjoin to himself, became, among the ancients, matter of prescriptive obligation.

In fact, it is only through the influence of manners, that society can be maintained: the laws may form them, but men must give assistance to the laws, by their own endeavors. Every thing will go well, when men shall declaim less on their share in the supreme power, and each individual shall seek to acquire so much the more authority over himself. Let every one aim at

attaining a correct estimate of things; for, by this means, his desires will be very much moderated. Let alterations in the forms of government be left to the operation of time, which gives to every people the constitution, of which it is susceptible, at each particular period, and a different one, when it becomes mature for the change.

I propose, in the following discourses, to describe the origin, growth, and alteration, of many forms of government, and the fate of nations. Nothing will contribute more to afford that true estimate, which is so highly necessary, of the present condition of the European states, than a correct view of their establishment and original spirit. We shall come at length to a multitude of treaties, which, during the last century and a half, have been concluded by the most sagacious statesmen, and again annihilated by the greatest generals: we shall moreover witness the consequences which have arisen to the prince and people, and the dangerous situation into which all states are thus brought. Examples for imitation and warning, great weaknesses and urgent necessities, conjunctures which call for temperance, and such as require a diligent investigation, will often occur to us, and will suffer us, for the future, to be led into fewer illusions by a specious exterior and finely-sounding words.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE,

TO THE

AGE OF THE TROJAN WAR.

BOOK I.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE, TO THE AGE OF THE TROJAN WAR.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PRIMITIVE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

Two very opposite opinions prevail, with respect to the primitive condition of the human race. Some traditions begin with a golden age of innocence and happiness; others, with a state of original barbarism and wild disorder.* Thus, according to one representa-

* The former of these representations prevails through the fragments of remote antiquity, preserved among various nations, and through all the religious traditions of the ancient world. It is found, not only in the Scriptures, or inspired writings of the Jews and Christians, but in the books, esteemed sacred by various Oriental nations; as the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians. In the Skuking, and other fragments of Chinese history, and in the Ramayan of the Indian Valmic, pictures are drawn of the happiness and virtue of the first men, which resemble the fiction of the golden age, so celebrated in the mythology of Greece and Rome. Plato says, that his countrymen derived all their knowledge of divine things from the ancients, who, as he affirms, “were wiser, and lived nearer to the gods, than we.” The Egyptians began their history with dynasties of gods and heroes, who were said to have assumed human form, (*ἀνθρώπων τοις δὲ ἄνθρωποις γεγενεῖν*) and to have dwelt among men, and to have communicated all arts and sciences to the Egyptian priests. The golden age of the Hindoos, and their numerous avatars of the gods, are fictions of a similar character, as well as their two royal dynasties descended from the sun and moon, with which we find a remarkable coincidence in the traditions of Peru.

Such is the common sentiment of antiquity, while far different representations are given by many philosophers and poets. An example may be found in Lucretius, Lib. v. “*Volgivago vitam tractabant more ferrarum,*” &c. [They passed their lives in the unsettled manner of wild animals.]

tion, our species has continually become more debased, in every succeeding age ; according to the other, it has gradually attained perfection, by many new acquirements. If we believe the former, man lived in immortal youth, until a vain curiosity incited him to follow the deceitful allurements of passion, against the voice of his inward feelings of moral duty ; to sacrifice his happiness to the serpent wiles of insinuating pleasure ; and to appropriate to himself that fire, with which the benevolent Father of gods and men designed to animate and enlighten him, in every case of need. Others, on the contrary, relate, that man was formed, by the slow labors of Nature, out of the mud of the earth, and produced, at length, in his present shape ; but attained not, until after many generations, to that vigor and beauty, in which he excels all other animals. There is truth in both these representations. The first of men were innocent and virtuous ; but those were frail and corrupt, who first submitted themselves to the restraints and ordinances of society.

It is indeed a striking fact, that the most ancient people, in all other matters wholly uncultivated, had faithful representations and correct ideas of the Deity, of the world, of a future state, and even of the motions of the heavenly bodies ; while the arts, which relate to the conveniences of life, are of far more recent date. In matters of the highest import, the eldest of mankind were wise ; in the affairs of human life, they were children. A remembrance of these primitive ideas was preserved, afterwards, among most nations, but darkened, deformed, and misunderstood. Even astronomical computations were carried on mechanically, without knowledge of the principles.

Would it not appear that our soul, that particle of the Divine Spirit that dwells within us, had derived, from the immediate instruction of a higher nature, and preserved, for a time, certain indispensable faculties and ideas, to which it could not have attained, alone ? On the other hand, all that appertained to the use of mate-

rial objects was left for the exercise of human ingenuity.* Those pure ideas of the patriarchs became afterwards obscured, among most of the races of men, by the lapse of time, and through the toilsome labor of cultivating a desert earth: hence, necessity stimulated them to the discovery of various arts.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PRIMITIVE ABODE OF MANKIND.

THERE seems to be no better way of inquiring, where was the cradle of the human race, than to seek where bread-corn, that universal food of those who have ever possessed it, was indigenous, and where the domestic animals, which, from times of yore, have dwelt with men, had their native seat. We are at liberty to suppose, that those who first wandered forth brought with them their wonted sustenance, and these companions of their domestic life. Theophrastus observed, that barley grows wild, in the high lands behind the Caspian Sea. A pupil of Linnæus found grain, growing wild, in Bashkiria. On the mountains of Cashmire, in Thibet, and in the north of China, it certainly grows many years, without sowing or tillage. On the same mountains, our household animals run wild. Great rivers burst forth from their sides: the Hoangho, or Yellow River, leads to China; the Ganges and the Indus to India.†

* “*Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes.*” [That he might, by attentive study, devise various arts of life.]

† Adelung has adopted this opinion, respecting the original seat of the human species, and has mentioned a variety of considerations, in support of it. He observes, that the central plain of Asia, being the highest region on the globe, must have been the first to emerge from the universal ocean; and, therefore, first became capable of affording a habitable dwelling to terrestrial animals, and to the human species. Hence, as the subsiding waters gradually gave up the lower regions, to be the abode of life, they may have descended, and spread themselves,

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.

Who is able to compute, how often the sun has revolved in his course, since, on some happy field of Cashmire, or on a healthful mountain of Thibet, God inspired into the first man of earth the spark of the Divine Spirit? At present, the reckonings of time, among all nations, reach up nearly to a like period. The great numbers of the Chinese, Indians, and Egyptians, are astronomical, not historical; not unlike Buffon's Periods of Nature, of which he chooses to assume

progressively, over their new acquisitions. The desert of Kobi, which is the summit of the central steppe, is the most elevated ridge on the globe. From its vicinity, the great rivers of Asia take their rise, and flow towards the four cardinal points. The Selinga, the Ob, the Ir-tish, the Lena, and the Jenisey, send their waters to the Frozen Ocean; the Jaik flows towards the setting sun; the Amur and Hoangho, and the Indus, Ganges, and Burampooter, towards the east and south. On the declivities of these high lands are the plains of Thibet, lower than the frozen region of Kobi, where many fertile tracts are well fitted to become the early seat of animated nature. Here, are found, not only the vine, the olive, rice, the legumina, and other plants, on which man has in all ages depended, in a great measure, for his sustenance; but all those animals run wild upon these mountains, which he has tamed, and led with him, over the whole earth; as the ox, the horse, the ass, the sheep, the goat, the camel, the hog, the dog, the cat, and even the gentle reindeer, who accompanies him even to the icy, polar tracts. In Cashmire, plants, animals, and men, exist, in the greatest physical perfection.

A number of arguments are suggested, in favor of this opinion. Bailly has referred the origin of the arts and sciences, of astronomy, and of the old lunar zodiac, and the discovery of the planets, to the most northerly tract of Asia. His attachment to Buffon's hypothesis of the central fire, and the gradual refrigeration of the earth, has driven him, indeed, to the banks of the Frozen Ocean; but his arguments apply more naturally to the centre of Asia. (See Bailly's Letters to Voltaire.)

Lastly, in our Scriptures, the second origin of mankind is referred to a mountainous region, eastward of Shinar, and the ancient books of the Hindoos fix the cradle of our race in the same quarter. The Hindoo paradise is on Mount-Meru, which is on the confines of Cashmire and Thibet.—*T.*

one, of eighty thousand years, before the earth could have assumed the state in which we now see it.

The oldest book of the Chinese annals does not commence its historical record from an earlier time, than that of our Trojan war. The Greeks, Homer and Hesiod, are older than its author. Neither do the Indians carry up their historical age more than five thousand years. According to the Scriptural chronology, in that way of reckoning it, which appears to me the most probable, almost three thousand years may be added to this computation. We may, in my opinion, assume seven thousand five hundred and six years from the origin of mankind, as it is known to us, by means of the Bible, to the present day.* (1784.)

CHAPTER IV.

BEGINNING OF HISTORY.—PERSIA.

FROM the oldest times, we possess only fragments, which consist partly of poems misunderstood, and partly of uncertain successions of kings. We propose to confine ourselves to those nations who have exercised the greatest influence upon the fates of Europe. Within this limit, Persia may well hold the first place;—a region of high culture, from the earliest age, where traces of the pure religion of Zerdusht, which he brought among the nations, from Mount Albordi, may still be recognised. The people, who inhabit the southern side of the great ridge of hills, have ever displayed greater inventive powers, and greater constancy in preserving their institutions, than the tribes who dwell to

* Two thousand two hundred and sixty-two years to the Deluge, (Septuagint and Julius Africanus ;) one thousand and seventy-four to the birth of Terah's eldest son, (LXX.); sixty to Abraham, (Usher ;) seventy-five to his departure for Canaan ; two hundred and fifteen to Jacob's departure for Egypt ; four hundred and thirty to Moses, (Michaëlis ;) five hundred and ninety-two to the building of the Temple, (Josephus.) From that time we follow the common chronology.

the northward: the former of these endowments they owe to the ease and leisure afforded them by a more propitious climate, and by their practice of temperance; the latter, to their settled habits, not being prompted, by a restless spirit, to a migratory life.

The remains of the ancient Persian capital, Estakhar,* as well as those of the Egyptian, Luxor,† and the ruins on the hither peninsula of India, bear the expression of majestic grandeur, and of a noble desire to hand down, to futurity, eternal memorials of certain great truths or remarkable events. These elevated feelings cannot be the effect of climate; otherwise, they could not fail still to exhibit a like influence, in the same countries, where, instead of ancient simplicity and grandeur, a fondness for singularity and false refinement is now displayed. Was man, being nearer to his origin, conscious of a higher rank in Nature? Did he think less on the enjoyments of sense, and more on that which endures for ever? In reality, the palaces of Dshemshid and Osymandyas are as widely distinguished from that of Versailles, as Moses and Homer from the wits of the age of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER V.

ASSYRIA.

WE come, next, to the exuberant fields which the Tigris and Euphrates water, especially towards the end of their course, and of which Hippocrates has left us an excellent description. "All the productions of Asia," says he, "are more beautiful and larger than those of the region we inhabit; the climate and the manners of men are more gentle; the people are benevolent and generous: many impetuous rivers, flowing between banks shaded with noble trees, roll their waves through extensive plains: no country, except

* Persepolis.

† Thebes.

perhaps Egypt, is more fertile, in men and animals, nor are the natives any where of greater stature, or of finer persons. They love pleasure, and yet are not the less brave. They have certain national traits of countenance, in which they resemble each other, more than the people of Europe, whose countries and seasons are exposed to more frequent and greater vicissitudes."

It appears, that no long period of time had elapsed, after that great inundation, of which almost all nations have some knowledge, when the countries above described became the seat of colonists, and that certain tribes of these settlers acquired, in the course of a few centuries, an eminent degree of opulence and power. We are also informed, that some nations, descending from the mountains, in a very distant age, conquered these beautiful plains, when they acquired civilization; and, under monarchs, of whom we have little knowledge, enjoyed their prosperity during many centuries. We neither know how far their power extended, nor how many dynasties ruled over them; but we easily conceive, that the adaptation of the government to the manners of the people, the tranquil character of the latter, and the custom of continually changing the rulers in the provinces, may have given this empire a long duration. Monarchy has, of itself, this advantage, that its simple tenor, and its resemblance to the domestic relations between the father of the family and the children and servants, give it stability, while the frequent removal of the rulers renders it tolerable, even to those who delight in change.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE SYRIAN COAST, AND PHŒNICIA.

SYRIA, between Lebanon and Mount Taurus, the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, but chiefly the sea-coast, as far as it was inhabited by the Phœnicians,

obtained a powerful influence over all nations. With respect to many discoveries, we are uncertain, whether they belonged to this people, or the Egyptians: it is clear, that the Phœnicians communicated to us all the sciences of Inner Asia.

The primitive sources of these sciences will probably remain always unknown to us. Thoth, or Thayth, to whom it is common to refer them, is not the name of a man, but signifies a monument. This mistake gave rise to the fable of the pillars of Seth, one of the first men; which, in this sense, may be not without historical foundation. But all the inscriptions on such pillars, on account of the nature of the oldest written characters, or the style of expression, were allegorical.

Hence, the numerous symbols of the Greek mythology, a system of sacred fables, alike exalted in its first principles, and in the immortal works of the poets; but which, as the knowledge of foreign idioms declined, and the hidden sense was forgotten, became, by degrees, unintelligible. Plato and Zeno, who, six hundred years after Homer, first undertook to interpret them, and all the school of these philosophers, who have displayed more ingenuity than learning, in this pursuit, may well be thought to have guessed the meaning of but a small part. Moreover, the mythology had become mixed with the history of countries, and the gods of various nations were exchanged for each other, when they only bore some mutual resemblance. The Oriental Hercules may have been the Sun; the Hercules of Greece was represented as a warrior, roaming in quest of adventures; in Gaul, he was seen in the form of a foreign merchant. Later writers have pursued this work of interpretation, in a manner wholly devoid of taste. With them, Phaeton is an astronomer, who died before the completion of his book;* Bellerophon followed the same profession, but suffered, from addicting himself too closely to his studies; the judgement of Paris was the declamation of a rhetorician of that name, in praise

* Anon. *Περὶ ἀπιστῶν*. [*Peri apiston*, respecting unbelievers.]

of the three goddesses ; the expression of a Trojan funeral hymn on the premature death of Ganymede, the king's son, "the gods found him so lovely that they were envious of the earth," and the fable related concerning Tiresias and Ceneus, that they were sometimes men and sometimes women, were supposed to relate to the introduction of the most immoral passions.

The best resources that we have from the Greeks, for comprehending, in some measure, the sense of the mythological doctrine, which was set forth in their mysteries, are the Orphic hymns, which may be partly the work of Onomacritus, partly of the Pythagorean Cercops. The style of these poems is very sublime. Orpheus, whose name is not absurdly affixed to them, since they contain his doctrines, had visited Egypt, and the Phœnician colonies in Bœotia. Some obscure knowledge of Moses seems also discoverable in these productions. It cannot be denied, that the learned men of Alexandria may have made various alterations and additions, in the course of the third century ; still it is manifest, that the mysteries contributed very much to the forming and softening of manners, and especially imparted serenity to life, as well as to death, by the consoling hopes of immortality. They may well hold the preference, not in their essential character, but in the manner of representation, over those far more recent ideas, which have surrounded the bed of death with needless terrors.

This life was considered, in the Mysteries, as a state of preparation for a lasting and progressive happiness ; or, if that was needful, for a still longer purification. It is true, that this doctrine remained hidden from the common people ; they were not prepared to receive it, without abuse. Perhaps it was also on this account that Moses, among the Hebrews, has scarcely pointed out, in the obscure distance, some indications of the same prospect.

CHAPTER VII.

COLCHIS AND SCYTHIA.

To the northward of the Asiatic plains, the valleys of the inaccessible Caucasus afforded an abode to various tribes of free and barbarous people. The inhabitants of Colchis, alone, invited to the cultivation of commerce by the vicinity of two seas, which were formerly joined towards the north, attained, by means of it, to a degree of opulence which rendered them celebrated. Their territory, of small extent, lay on the eastern shore of the Euxine Sea: the greater part of it was marshy, and the atmosphere humid; they had frequent and heavy rains; a great number of channels intersected their plains, on the banks of which the dwellings of the people were placed, raised, for the most part, upon stakes. The natives of the country were corpulent, and somewhat above the middle stature; their language was hard of utterance, and ungraceful. They were the Hollanders of those ancient times. Their chief river, the Phasis, like the Rhine, lost itself in interminable sands.

Northern Scythia, including all the region above Sarmatia, and the forests of Germany as far as the Frozen Sea, was a wilderness, through which many pastoral and hunting nations incessantly roamed. Herodotus, who collected on their borders all the accounts which he could obtain, from merchants and travellers, has described these tribes and their manners, with wonderful accuracy. We shall make further mention of them, in the course of this general outline, at the period when they become important to universal history.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARABIANS.—JEWS.—PHŒNICIAN COLONIES.

OF the great Arabian people, situated on the confines of Inner and Outer Asia, and in the country of frankincense and spices, who, during so many centuries, received gold from foreign nations, but never submitted to a foreign yoke, we shall have the most proper occasion to treat, at that epoch when they broke out, at once, from their boundaries, and became lords of the finest portions of the earth.

A similar remark applies to the Jews. Long, as it were, shut up in a country of small extent, long despised by the more powerful and cultivated nations, they obtained, at once, after the fall of Jerusalem, by the Christian religion, which arose among them, a more general, a more durable, influence over the human race, than the ancient Romans had acquired, by their three hundred and twenty triumphs. The natural place for relating their history will occur on a future occasion.

After these, the Phœnicians were by far the most important nation, in these primitive times. They were the inventors of glass, of purple, of coinage, and of the characters which were afterwards adopted in Europe. Setting out from a narrow coast, on the Syrian Sea, they visited all the shores of the Mediterranean; they peopled and cultivated the isle of Thasos, and many others in the vicinity of Greece, as well as Bœotia, the North of Africa, and the coast of Spain. While they embarked, on one side, at Elath, on the Red Sea, to sail round Africa, they passed, on the other, through the Spanish strait; sought tin, in the mines of Britain, and amber, where the Prussian Radaune pours itself into the Baltic; and, as a second Tyre was founded by them, in the Persian Gulf, so Kulm, in Prussia, was perhaps also their settlement.* They even introduced

* Uphagen, *Parerga Historica*.

among the ancients the notion of islands, and a continent beyond the Atlantic Ocean. The greatest things are effected by the smallest nations, who are stimulated, by necessity, to exertion.

Much to be lamented is the slender state of our knowledge, concerning their domestic history and enterprises. The latter, they were in the habit of concealing under the most impenetrable secrecy. Certain discoveries were purposely consigned to oblivion, because the magistrates dreaded the too numerous migrations and endless divisions of the Phœnician people. Tyre, the mother country, fell, also, at too early a period; and the writers belonging to the nation were lost, together with its power and liberty. Of the old Sanchoniathon, a few, and, as it seems, ill-interpreted, fragments remain; and we have a still more meager abstract of the later voyages of Hanno.

The boundaries of Asia, towards Africa, lose themselves in the sandy desert between Gaza and Pelusium. Many travellers have here found their death, where the treacherous sands often form the appearance of a bridge over the Serbonian Gulf.

CHAPTER IX.

EGYPT.

THE land on which we now enter,—the delightful Delta of Egypt,—is not so old as the world, but has been gradually deposited, by the waters of the Nile. From the point of the Delta, a long valley ascends along the course of the river, beyond Memphis, to the spot where Luxor displays its astonishing ruins. Another valley extends thence to the rocks over which the stream falls, in deafening cataracts. To the westward, lie deserts of sand; to the eastward, mountains, whose feet are washed by the Arabian Gulf, dangerous to navigators. The Delta, and these valleys, comprise Egypt.

It is remarkable, as one of the most universally fruitful countries of the earth, and as the abode of a very ancient people. It equally attracts our notice, by the long unaltered duration of its laws, its customs, and its arts. The system of its laws was well constituted, and in the strictest relation to the nature of the country and the people. Hence, the native government long maintained its authority, while, in aftertimes, every foreign dominion and institution was frail and transient. The former was enabled to resist the transitory conquests of the Ethiopians, a nation, whose manners were by no means foreign to those of its native people.

In fact, the theocracy, or the sovereignty of the priesthood, was also very powerful, in Ethiopia. But we know so little of the distant parts of Africa, that even recent travellers have often only copied from the old and respectable Agatharchidas. No man has penetrated far into the country; and yet this does not seem impracticable, for those who dwell upon the borders.

CHAPTER X.

ASIA MINOR.

THE great peninsula of Lesser Asia contains very beautiful districts, as well as places strongly fortified by Nature. Many rivers, some of them of considerable width, water luxuriant and enchanting plains. Formerly, a fiery mountain, here and there, threw out flames; and, after these became extinguished, earthquakes shook the land; but, since the rivers have deposited more soil about their estuaries, and the water has been kept at a distance from the ancient craters, the earthquakes, also, have more rarely happened.

In Lesser Asia, at the feet of Ida, lay Troy, from the chieftains of which, so many of the royal dynasties in Europe have chosen to trace their origin. The tribes,

indeed, which peopled Pannonia, Gaul, Italy, and perhaps Greece, may be supposed to have effected their passage, in remote times, from these coasts, into the neighboring continent of Europe.

Troy, itself, is an important place, in the memorials of the human race. The chieftains, who fought for and against it, have been already, during three thousand years, the objects of admiration and pity, among all civilized nations. By their magnanimity, their heroism, their power, their friendships, they merited the immortality which Homer has given them. Through them, Asia and Europe came into the first durable relations; and the Grecian tribes were first collected to a common enterprise. This remark leads us to enter upon the primitive state of Greece.

CHAPTER XI.

GREECE.

ANCIENT traditions, as well as physical observations, point out the former existence of the land of Lectonia, which would seem to have occupied a part of the space now filled by the Grecian Sea. An earthquake probably broke down its foundations, and the whole was finally submerged under the waves. Perhaps this event took place when the sea, which was formerly extended over the Scythian plains, forced its way through the Bosphorus, and precipitated itself into the basin of the Mediterranean.* The numerous islands of the Archipelago appear to be the remains of Lectonia. This

* It was the opinion of Pallas, that the Euxine and Caspian seas, as well as the lake Aral, and several others, are the remains of an extensive sea, which covered a great part of the North of Asia. (See Pallas. *Reise durch Siberien*, 5 B.) This conjecture of Pallas, which was drawn from his observations in Siberia, has been confirmed, by Klaproth's Survey of the Country to the northward of the Caucasus. Lastly, M. de Choiseul Gouffier adds, that a great part of Moldavia,

tract of land probably facilitated the passage of the first colonists, out of Asia, into our quarter of the world.

For a long time, the soil of Greece remained cold and marshy ; an extensive sea covered Thessaly, before the Peneus broke for itself a channel, through the rocks of Tempe.

The oldest name in the Grecian history is that of Inachus, who is said to have founded Argos. His existence has been doubted, but on insufficient grounds. Ogyges succeeds to him, who lived about the time when the lake Copais poured its fertilizing waters over the wide plains of Bœotia. All these events happened in such remote periods, that the traditions of the primitive world were distinguished by the term of Ogygian.

A somewhat brighter day already appears, with the dawning of Attic civilization. Cecrops, an Egyptian, built a town upon the site, where, afterwards, the citadel of Athens rose in magnificence. He introduced morals and judicial regulations, and the country became an asylum for the innocent and persecuted. Festivals, compacts, and laws, thence extended their beneficial influence.

A hundred and thirty years after him, the Phœnician Cadmus brought the use of letters into Bœotia ; and at Thebes, in the same country, he erected a citadel. The greatest lyric poet, and the most accomplished general of the Greeks, were Bœotians ; nevertheless, this people was accused of stupidity. Perhaps they

Vallachia, and Bessarabia, bears evident traces of having formed part of the same sea.

It has often been conjectured, that the opening of the Bosphorus was the occasion of the draining of this ocean, in the midst of Europe and Asia. The memory of this disruption of the two continents was preserved in the traditions of Greece. Strabo, (Lib. I. p. 49,) Pliny, (Hist. Nat. Lib. II. c. 90,) and Diodorus, (Lib. V. c. 47,) have collected the ancient memorials which existed, of so striking a catastrophe. The truth of the story has, however, been placed on more secure grounds, by physical observations on the districts in the vicinity of the Bosphorus. See Dr. Clarke's Travels, and particularly a *Mémoire* by M. de Choiseul Gouffier in the *Memoires de l'Institut Royale de France*, 1815, in which the author has collected much curious information, on this subject.

knew not how to value these great men. Their discoveries were brought to perfection by others, and more usefully applied. It is, moreover, remarkable, that Cadmus, the father of learning, who taught us to hand down our thoughts to futurity, came into Greece just at the time when the arms of Joshua, the leader of the Jews, drove the Phœnician tribes toward the sea, and compelled them to seek refuge in distant colonies. This act of a despised people, scarcely known to the Grecian historians, was the occasional cause of all the intellectual and moral excellence which has arisen through the influence of literature.

The Phœnicians also brought with them the use of wine; and the oracle of Delphi seems to have been their work. This temple, after the establishment of which, the soothsaying oaks of Dodona fell into oblivion, became a central point of union for the different Grecian tribes.

The latter were distinguished by the name of Hellenes, from Hellen, son of Deucalion, a Thessalian chief, whom an inundation compelled to take refuge on Mount Parnassus, situated above Delphi. Hellen united a number of tribes. He was the father of Dorus, the grandfather of Ion, the brother of Amphietyon.

This last,* a chief of Locris, established at Thermopylæ, in a pass on the confines of Thessaly and Greece, a periodical assembly of deputies, bearing delegated powers from eleven or twelve small tribes, each of whom had two votes. How these were to be disposed of, was determined on a particular day, appointed for the public convention of each state. The object was, to ameliorate manners and to promote religion. It was therefore ordained, that the power of all the confederates should be directed against him, who should destroy any town, comprehended in the league, or even, in war, should plunder a temple, or cut off or poison fountains. The general assembly endeavored to settle all

* See Scymnus Chius, in Hudson's *Geographica Vetus*, [Ancient Geography.]

disputes which happened among the Grecian tribes ; the particular one, those which occurred in individual states. The Amphictyons brought their wives and children with them, when they assembled. The festival of the tutelar god was held, and contests were carried on in the public games.

So long as the tribes were small, and all the states nearly equal, in power, it was possible for this constitution to subsist ; but its weight and utility were lost, when Phthiotis and Mount Œta influenced the decisions, with as many votes as the Dorians and Ionians ; when, at the meeting of the Dorian people, the sordid Cytinium had an equal sway with the mighty Lacedæmon. Accordingly, the form, only, of the Amphictyonic council remained ; in great affairs, they had scarcely as much influence as the Diet at Ratisbon.

Before the Trojan War, some common enterprises, without plan, were attempted, by the restless boldness of particular chieftains ; but these were not national undertakings. Thus, Jason performed the Argonautic voyage, in quest of the gold of Colchis ; a wonderful expedition, if we consider the infant state of navigation ; thus, all the chiefs of the Peloponnesus became partakers in the family feud of Thebes. The former of these enterprises was excited by the desire of booty ; those who embarked in the latter were moved by the relationship of a chief of Argos to one of the Theban princes.

The peninsula of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants of which had little to fear from external dangers, was eminently adapted for such exploits. Moreover, Pelops, and, after him, Perseus, had gained and imparted to their city of Argos such a preponderating influence, that the peninsula acquired a sort of metropolis.

Athens interfered less, in such restless movements. Attica was accordingly better cultivated, and the high court of the Areopagus became a venerable example. Many cities, long after, acknowledged that agriculture originated from Attica, by annual offerings of the first

fruits of their land.* The Athenians were chiefly proud of having first introduced popular government among the Greeks. Their kings ruled as founders of plantations, with the influence which the merit of the original settlement, and the number of colonists in their suite, imparted ; but Theseus joined all the twelve Attic boroughs to the chief city, and united their senates into one body. Of the townsmen of all of them he formed one assembly, to which he intrusted the election of the king ; he retained for himself scarcely any privilege, except that of presiding at the celebration of sacrifices and in the council, and the command, in time of war.† Henceforth, Athens was distinguished by the preservation of a great part of its native customs, while other states were exposed to many alterations, from external contingencies.

CHAPTER XII.

CRETE.

IN these ancient times, Minos, king of Crete, exercised his preponderating power on the sea. He drove out the barbarous Carians, from the Cyclades, and exterminated piracy, which, among the Greeks, had been openly professed ; he kept the people of the coasts in awe of him, and, at the same time, forced them to pay him tribute. Crete was very advantageously situated, to become mistress of this sea ; but at length a confederacy arose, which put a period to her dominion.

Minos wished to render the Cretans mild and gentle, in their manners. In order to attain this object, he allowed free indulgence to licentious excesses, even of the most flagitious kind, hoping that the refinements

* Isocrates Panegyrica, [Panegyrics of Isocrates.]

† Marmora Arundelia, [Arundelian Marbles.] Thucydides. Orations Demosthenis, [Orations of Demosthenes.]

of gallantry would mitigate the native ferocity of his subjects.*

The Cretans, as individuals, possessed eminent skill in military affairs, while the laws, which they adopted, prevented the state from undertaking any great enterprise, abroad.† Instead of a king, to whose decision every thing was ultimately referred, they elected ten *cosmis*, or regulators, to govern, in peace and in war. These were chosen from ancient families, for a limited time ; and, when the period of their office was completed, they remained members of the senate. The judges were all men of advanced age. Young men were never allowed to propose any alterations in the laws, and it was especially forbidden, to make such proposals in any other place than in the senate ; and even there, it was only permitted to be done secretly. For the rest, the whole produce of the country, which was generally fertile, was divided into twelve portions ; all was in common, and the citizens ate together, in public companies ; one portion was destined for the sacrifices, and another for the hospitable entertainment of strangers. The lands were cultivated by slaves, and the use of arms was reserved for freemen. Fruits, cattle, money, and all other things, were under the direction of the senate. They were less anxious that the population should become numerous, than that every man should be sufficiently provided for ; and were less desirous of superfluity, than of an easy and careless life. The chase, gymnastic exercises, and wandering, in quest of adventures, occupied the life of the private citizen. Fighting, and even theft, when executed with great adroitness, were regarded as lawful means of acquiring address and manual dexterity.

This constitution had a long duration ; for the assembly of the people had simply the privilege of confirming or rejecting the propositions of the senate and

* Plato, leg. 8. Strabo.

† Aristotle *Politica*, [Politics of Aristotle,] 2. Plato, leg. 1.

the *cosmis*, without the slightest modification. It happened, indeed, sometimes, that they deposed the *cosmis*, and refused to elect others. Disputes occurred, concerning the duration and limits of their authority, and that of the senate; but these contests produced only factious commotions. The laws were, on the whole, maintained; and the island, protected by the sea, preserved its freedom as long as the other Grecian states.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TROJAN WAR.

THE Trojan power had formed itself in the declivities of Mount Ida.* In the course of three hundred years, many neighboring Asiatic nations, and lastly, even in Europe, the coast of Thrace, and an extensive country, reaching to the confines of Thessaly, had become subject to the king of Troy, either by voluntary submission or by force of arms. This monarch was therefore considered as the richest and greatest potentate of Western Asia.† Against him, the princes of the Grecian tribes associated themselves, in the cause of Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon, whose consort had been carried away by the son of the Trojan monarch. The throne of Trøy was overturned, after a ten years' war. At the same time, the long absence of the chiefs occasioned many innovations in Greece, which were very pernicious to the reigning dynasties. The Greeks, themselves, became unaccustomed to good order, and to the enjoyment of a peaceful life; and hence, many disturbances arose, in consequence of which, in the course of the succeeding centuries, not only the reigning families were deprived of their power, but monarchy itself was

* *Ἰνωρεία*. [*Uporeia*, region at the foot of the mountain.]

† *Regnatorum Asiæ*, [Of the potentates of Asia.]

in many instances abolished, and aristocracies or democracies introduced.

The Iliad and Odyssey were probably sung by Homer, about a century and a half after the destruction of the town of Troy. They are as old as David's Psalms. Originally, the Iliad would appear not to have been a single connected poem, but to have attained, at a later period, its present complete state. A hundred years after Homer, Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Lacedæmon, brought these poems into Greece ; and, two centuries and a half later, Pisistratus is supposed to have given them their perfect form. His son, Hipparchus, introduced the custom of reciting them at the Panathenaia, or festival of the tutelar goddess. A more complete edition of the Homeric poems, from which our modern ones are taken, was prepared by Aristotle, for Alexander the Great, which the latter used to keep under his pillow, in a golden case. Aratus, the astronomer, Aristarchus of Samos, and Aristophanes, librarian at Alexandria, also bestowed their labor on these immortal songs.

They are, according to my opinion, the noblest of all poems. The orator, the historian, the poet, and the private citizen, obtain from them equal instruction. A fine moral sentiment breathes through the whole. We behold, at one time, the ruinous consequences of violence and anarchy ; at another, the power of moderation and reason. Obedience and freedom, heroism and military discipline, are recommended. Men appear as they are ; all is in action ; nothing is idle or in stagnation. We are carried away from ourselves, and instructed, without being conscious of it. Hence it was, that Homer became the pattern of Thucydides, the favorite author of the greatest and noblest men, and one of the best teachers of the wisdom of human life.

CHAPTER XIV.

ITALY.

THE population of Italy probably had its beginning, about the end of this period. The primitive inhabitants, descending from the North, dwelt in the Apennines, and in the plains, formerly abounding in morasses, which stretch between these mountains and the Alps. The seacoasts were peopled from the Peloponnesus. Ænotrus, descended from a branch of the royal family of Argos, which was settled in Arcadia, is considered as the leader of the first aborigines of Latium.* The primitive people of the neighboring parts of Italy were named Siculi. The Greeks above-mentioned, with the assistance of their countrymen, the Pelasgi, achieved such conquests, that they soon became the chief inhabitants even of the Adriatic coast. The Pelasgi, driven by Deucalion out of Thessaly, had long wandered about, until chance conducted them to the mouth of the Po. Thence, the most valiant of their youth passed over the mountains, and discovered the aborigines; the rest, desirous of repose, founded, not far from the place where Ravenna now stands, the town of Spina, which, by means of commerce and naval power, became mistress of the Adriatic, and whose costly gifts shone in the Delphic temple, many centuries after this people had suffered destruction from the barbarians.

The Siculi, driven out by the Pelasgi and aborigines, after they had left Italy, united themselves with the Sicani, a Spanish race, at the foot of Ætna, in the beautiful island which from them received the name of Sicily.

At this period, the whole population of Italy was perhaps scarcely equal to that, which at present exists in the kingdom of Naples; but the habits of pastoral and hunting people require an ample space. Agricul-

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lib. I.

ture was not much known, and men were fond of a roving and adventurous life. Hence arose famines and civil disturbances, in consequence of which, the rulers of the land resolved to send out colonies. For this purpose, either every tenth man was chosen, by lot, or as many men were appointed, as had been born in the country during the course of one year. Sometimes, those who were destined for emigration were selected by the magistrate; at others, they offered themselves, voluntarily. Arms were given them, and implements for the most necessary occupations. Afterwards, a sacrifice was prepared, and the departing company was recommended to the protection of some god. They embarked, sought for land, and founded, upon some remote shore, a town, which only remained connected with the mother country by the worship of common deities, and by the sentiment of ancient friendship. They often afforded each other mutual aid, against foreign conquerors, or the oppressive tyranny of some usurping citizen.

There is, accordingly, more than one great distinction between the ancient colonies and ours.* The former were founded by nations, with the intent that their citizens might be enabled to live more commodiously; those of modern times have been, for the most part, mercantile enterprises, the object of which is the acquisition of wealth. Accordingly, the ancient colonists raised such productions as were necessary to human subsistence; the moderns, such as are most advantageous for commerce. When, among us, the state has taken any part, in such affairs, the increase of its power and revenues has been the chief end in view. It was quite otherwise with the ancients, whose most valuable property consisted in territorial possessions, and not in gold; and who, on account of the fruitfulness of their soil, and the simplicity of their lives, found their wants easily satisfied.

* Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, B. 5.

When great and populous towns covered all the coasts, and room for colonizing was less easily found, skill in the laborious arts must necessarily have been improved.* Many persons became partakers in the labor, before carried on by one; their operations were performed better and with greater despatch, and inventions were multiplied. Already, in Homer's time, a greater luxury displays itself, although still near to the unformed taste of Nature. He mentions Orchomenos, Tyre, Sidon, and the Egyptian Thebes, as towns, whose riches, politeness, and commerce, were the wonder of the world.

For the rest, the wandering Pelasgi soon lost all independence, even in Italy. No regular government among them ever attained the period of maturity, but they mixed themselves with other nations.

In Italy, the Etruscans and the Arcadians acquired the most lasting distinction. The former made themselves masters of most of the Pelasgic towns. Their remarkable skill in the affairs of religion, and their knowledge of Nature, gave them the same influence, in Italy, which the greatness of their maritime power and their bold enterprises obtained through the whole Mediterranean Sea. Their true name appears to have been, 'Rhæti,' from Resan, one of the ancestors of their race. It would appear, that they were called Tyrrheni, from the Greek name for their dwellings,† consisting of many stories; and Tuscans, from the Greek term for sacrifice,‡ in which, as in all kinds of augury, they were the most experienced masters. Originally, they appear to have been a race related to the northern nations. They governed Italy, from the Alps to the Tiber; and, after the Gauls had taken from them the wide valley of the Po, and the feet of the Alps, the confederation of their twelve cities still maintained it-

* Labor ingenium miseris dedit. *Manil.* [Toil inspired the unhappy with ability.]

† Τυρραῖς. [*Turseis*, Tuscans.]

‡ Θυσίαι. [*Thusiai*, sacrifices.]

self, and supported, for centuries, its splendid dominion on the sea.

The seat of the Arcadian colonies was Mount Palatium, on the Tiber. Evander, who had become dangerous to the powerful of his country, by his opulence and wisdom, left Arcadia, to settle in this district. He brought among the barbarians, laws and civilization; and industry and commerce soon began to display themselves. Hercules, a stranger, persuaded the Italians and some Gallic and Spanish nations to establish a commercial road, for the security of which they entered into mutual bonds.

The commencement of the Italian history is a piece of mythology, misunderstood. The kingdom of Janus represents the ancient dominion of Chaos, and its transition into the organized creation; the age of Saturn is an obscure remembrance of the ancient world, a delineation of the character of remote antiquity, and of the simplicity of the primitive times.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK II.

FROM THE FIRST RISE OF REPUBLICAN
GOVERNMENTS,

TO THE

TIME OF SOLON.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of the six centuries which elapsed, from the destruction of Troy to the time of Solon, is less fertile in fables, but not accurately known. Poets lived, during this period, but they took, for the most part, the passions for their themes. There were also historians, who acquired fame; but the eloquence and surpassing merits of their successors caused their works to fall into speedy oblivion.

CHAPTER II.

BABYLON.

THREE hundred years after the Trojan War, the ancient kingdom of the Assyrians fell, through effeminacy and negligence. Many petty states arose out of its ruins, two of which raised themselves to a high degree of power. The kings of Media subdued the mountain land of Persia, and established relations of amity with the hordes that wandered on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea. They conquered also a portion of the empire which had centred in Nineveh. At the same time, the king of Babel, or Babylon, flourished, with still greater magnificence and power.

In this very ancient seat of learning and science, Nabopolassar, after a long period of anarchy and division, erected a most powerful monarchy, whose sceptre Nebuchadnezzar, his son, extended from the mountains of Caucasus, where he defeated the Iberians, to the sandy deserts of Libya. He burnt Jerusalem, defeated Ammon, Moab, and Edom, conquered Tyre, the richest commercial city of the Phœnicians, laid waste Egypt, and formed for his empire a new boundary, either by leaving its borders desolate, or, in some instances, by peopling them with tribes drawn from distant countries. He adorned the city of his residence with the noblest works of architecture.

Of this city, even the ruins are scarcely discoverable. It is still more difficult to trace the vestiges of Nineveh, which is said to have been three days' journey, in length. Time has contributed less, to this effect, than the marshy nature of the soil, in which the ruins have sunk, in some places, to a considerable depth. The mode of building was, besides, not well calculated for durability.*

CHAPTER III.

EGYPT.

AFTER the Trojan War, Egypt acquired greater opulence than it had before attained. The dynasties, into which it was divided, became united: the whole country submitted to one king; and the latter was subject to the laws, over which the priests presided, as a restraining power. One circumstance was calculated to disturb this constitution; namely, the separation made by Sesostris, between the military and agricultural classes. If a succession of able princes had followed, they might have rendered themselves superior to the laws;

* Vossii Observationes, [Observations of Vossius,] London, 1685.

but the only consequence which ensued was, that the rustic became unwarlike, and that the independence of Egypt often hung upon the fate of a single battle.

We talk of the oppressive spirit, we declaim on the vanity, of the founders of the vast pyramids. Let us not pass so hasty a censure on ancient Egypt. Her monuments have something mysterious, which betrays ideas worthy of our admiration. Each side of the base of the greatest pyramid, five hundred times multiplied, gives fifty-seven thousand and seventy-five fathoms, which complete a geographical degree. The cube of the nilometer, two hundred thousand times multiplied, gives exactly the same result.*

Towards the end of the period of which we are now treating, the political weakness, which had taken its rise from the cause above-mentioned, began to display itself. Egypt, in order to resist the increasing power of the Assyrian monarchy, required the aid of the Ethiopians; and an Ethiopian ascended the throne of Pharaoh. But, even by such means, the state, with difficulty, held out against the rising empire of Asia. Egypt was, in general, unwarlike. The great fruitfulness of the land, the fondness of the people for all kinds of pleasure, even the inclination to a life of repose, which they habitually acquired, during the annual overflowings of the Nile, rendered the nation effeminate. The authority of the priesthood may have contributed to this effect.

When the decline of the Egyptian power became manifest, the people sought for the cause, in the personal character of their kings; and twelve chiefs were chosen, in their stead, who weakened the kingdom, by factions, until one of the number reestablished the monarchy. But Psammetichus, the new sovereign, placed his chief reliance on a body of foreign troops. Egypt, hitherto shut up in itself, and "hostile to strangers," was thus opened to commercial intercourse, and its laws and customs suffered by the change.

* Pancton. Metrologie. Paris, 1780.

CHAPTER IV.

LACEDÆMON.

EIGHTY years after Agamemnon, at the head of the Grecian forces, had overturned Troy, his descendants, the Atridæ, lost the power which belonged to them in the Peloponnesus. The posterity of the warrior Hercules led the Dorians into that country. Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon and son of Orestes, was defeated and slain; the chief cities were partitioned; and Achaia, alone, was left to the Atridæ, where, after several centuries, democracy gained the ascendancy. Accordingly, Temenus obtained, for his share of the conquest, the beautiful plains of Argos; the hills of Messenia fell to Cresphon; Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of Aristodemus, became kings of Lacedæmon, with the stipulation, that both of them, during their lives, and, after their death, two of their descendants, should hold the crown, jointly. It was unknown which of them was the first born. The Delphic god, when interrogated, replied, "that the eldest should receive the supreme honors," but gave no hint, to which this claim belonged, in order to procure, for both, the highest dignity, without contention. The families of the Heraclidæ also joined in a league of mutual defence, and engaged to rule according to the laws. Argos and Messene never attained secure tranquillity. Lacedæmon was long the sport of faction, but acquired, at last, a constitution, which will ever be in the highest degree remarkable, as displaying the victory of one idea over the strongest natural passions.

Lacedæmon, or Sparta, was a very large town, on the river Eurotas, at the foot of Taygetus, where the rills which take their rise from the Arcadian mountains, the highest of the Peloponnesus, lose themselves towards the sea. The lot, by which most public offices were at

first distributed, threw them not always into the hands which were most fit to restrain, within the bounds of good order, the passions of powerful men; but, one hundred and fifty years after the entrance of the Heraclidæ, Lycurgus, tutor of king Leobotus, gave laws to the Lacedæmonians, calculated to found, on the ruins of all the other wishes and feelings of men, and with the appearance of rude and barbarous manners, an heroic character, in which the pride of being Lacedæmonians was the only sentiment. It is possible, that he obtained this idea from Lyctos, in Crete, where he had family connexions, as Minos himself received instruction from the Egyptians. It is also probable, that a secret association, that powerful instrument of revolution, facilitated the change which he wished to effect in public opinion. In order to effect the introduction of his meditated scheme, he made use, as Minos had done before, of Apollo and the other gods; a practice which the Ephori afterwards adopted.

All the heroes, lawgivers, and the most illustrious sages of Greece, were supported by the Delphian god. The understanding which they maintained with his priestess, like that of the Roman Senate with the College of Priests and Augurs, gave them the preponderance, in the decision of the most important affairs; and we must say, in justice to the oracle, that the maintenance of freedom and good order, and the softening of manners, were the chief objects of their responses.

Although, in the government of Lacedæmon, the chief authority was in the hands of the two kings, the five ephori, and the senate of twenty-eight; though the popular assembly had no other privilege, than the power of electing the senators, who held their places for life; though the more opulent citizens, only, were admitted into the popular assembly;—yet the constitution of Lacedæmon was often called, by the ancients, a popular government, and even the most powerful of democracies.* They considered democracy as consisting, not

* Isocrates Areopagitæ, [Isocrates on the Areopagus.]

so much in the forms as in the spirit of the administration ; and felt, that an assembly of the people is incapable of governing. The object of their wishes was, a popular equality of manners.*

The joint sway of the two kings was the corner-stone of the constitution ; because each prevented his colleague from erecting tyrannical dominion, and it was the interest of both, that the ephori should not oppress the senate, or the senators degrade the people. On the other hand, the authority of the ephori was also useful to them ; for which reason, it is probable that King Theopompus introduced it. This venerated body, in unfortunate turns of affairs, took from the senate a share of the responsibility. Religion was the protection of the monarchy. The royal house, descended, through Hercules, from the supreme God of Olympus, could most worthily perform the highest sacrifices for the fortune of Lacedæmon ; as the progeny of the Hero, as the descendants of the Conqueror, the kings most naturally became generals, in war, and exercised, in that office, unlimited power.

Their revenues depended on these two relations. The kings had their share of the sacrifices, which were regularly offered, in corn, flesh, and wine, on the first and seventh day of each month. That a victim might never be wanting to them, in cases of sudden need, they always received a pig, from every sow which littered. At the public meals, a double share was allotted to them. They had a large fishpond, near their house, and a considerable possession in land, the inheritance of conquest. The two public messengers, who were sent to Delphi, were nominated by them, resided in their houses, and, in common with them, superintended the archives of the oracular responses. As marriage, in well-ordered communities, is respected as a sacred bond, the betrothing of orphan daughters depended on the kings. It was only under their superintendence,

* Aristotle Politica, [Politics of Aristotle,] 4.

that any young person could be adopted as a child into another family, and therefore take a share in the service of strange household gods. Every where, in the senate and at the public shows, they had the first rank ; every man, except the ephori, rose from his seat, when one of the kings appeared. In war, the army knew no other command ; the influence of the ephori had an end, as soon as the forces were assembled.

Each of the six divisions,* of which the army consisted, was led by one polemarch, or military commander, and was divided into four battalions,† under so many lochagi, or captains. Each battalion, consisting, at first, of one hundred men, was divided into two companies of fifty, and, finally, each of the last into subdivisions of twenty-five. This army, under the first of the kings, contained two thousand citizens ; and, when it afterwards became much more numerous, similar divisions were retained, with increase of strength. The numbers, contained under the above-mentioned distributions, depended on the secret decision of the king and his own council. In order to conceal the numbers, they often arranged more or fewer men in a similar army, under each division.

In general, the simple arrangement and good command of their army speedily gave to the Lacedæmonians the advantages, which are insured by superior tactics. They also were the first who availed themselves of martial music, as well for regulating the march, as to make the will of the leaders intelligible, without words, to practised ears.‡ The learning of these melodies, which, that they might remain unintelligible to the enemy, had much variety, was one chief occupation of their schools. The Lacedæmonians also first adopt-

* *Μοῖραι*. [*Moirai*, divisions.]

† *Λοχοί*. [*Lochoi*, battalions.]

‡ “*Procedere ad modum tibiamque, nec adhibere ullam sine anapæstis pedibus hortationem.*”—*Cicero, Tusculanæ Quæstiones*, 2. [To march in measure, and to the sound of flutes ; and to pronounce no order, except in anapæstic feet.—*Cicero's Tusculan Questions*.]

ed military uniform ; and they made choice of red, in order that the enemy might not perceive whether he had inflicted any wounds. They were wont to wear their hair long, as a sign of freedom ; a privilege which was not allowed to mechanics, as it was not permitted to slaves to bear arms. At the opening and during the continuance of war, the military officers always accompanied the army, and practised it, in the morning, in marching, in manipulations, and evolutions. They ate with the warriors, exercised them in their songs of praise to the gods and heroes, and slept, like the private soldiers, on their arms. On the confines of their country, they sacrificed to Jupiter, and to Pallas, the goddess of the art of war ; they took fire with them, from this altar, and repeated their offering before every battle. They were very careful to preserve the splendor of their arms and implements. At the conclusion of a war, the king gave an account of his conduct, in the administration of it. If he fell for his country, his memory was honored, with that of other immortalized heroes. The whole nation put on mourning, when the king died, and a cessation from business, of every kind, was observed, during ten days.

But, in times of peace, the college of the ephori and the senate had greater power. Each king had only a single voice at the consultations. The ephori were so powerful, in the administration of the commonwealth, that they could depose, imprison, and even put to death, the kings, and all other magistrates, who overstepped the just limits of their authority. All offences, which had escaped the other courts of judicature, were punished by them, and each of them had, to this end, a class of civil causes under his particular inspection ; but they could not put any individual to death, without the concurrence of the senate. In this particular, and in the mode of their election, this council bore much resemblance to the Athenian Areopagus. It appears, that the first men of the senate, in order that they might, in case of need, fill the office of vicegerents, were named

‘Peers of the kings.’* These, together with the ephori and kings, composed the privy council, which decided on secret and important affairs, either with or without the addition of a select number of citizens. In the mode in which these powers maintained themselves in equilibrium, the Lacedæmonians found the stability of their constitution, while Argos and Messene vainly sought to obtain the same security in the sanctity of oaths.†

In order to form citizens of great fortitude, and whose whole faculties should be absorbed in the love of their country, the laws applied themselves, in the first place, to mothers, and the infants yet nourished at their breasts. The wives did not give up their whole attention to household affairs, which were confided to the care of the slaves. The young women practised the exercises of men, in order to strengthen their own bodies, and to infuse manly feelings into their children, together with their milk. The men did not dare to visit their wives, openly; because pleasures, obtained by stealth, are the more valued. Marriages were not concluded, until the body had acquired its full vigor. The Pædonomi presided over the whole business of education, and took care that all the children should be annually clothed. The latter, however, went barefooted, and were especially inured to support inclement seasons, as well as hunger and thirst. They were allowed to steal, and were praised, when they practised theft, with dexterity; but when, from want of vigilance or address, they suffered themselves to be caught, the Pædonomi ordered them to undergo a punishment, so much the more severe, as it was intended, at the same time, to teach them to endure pain. To cry out was considered as the last disgrace. The boys were divided into troops,‡ commanded by their equals, but they looked

* *Ομοιοι*, [*Omoioi*, similar, like, equal.]

† Thucydides. Xenophon. Isocrates. Panathenæa. Aristotle *Politica*, [Politics by Aristotle,] 3.

‡ *Ἰλαι*, [*Ilai*, troops.]

upon all their elders as their superiors ; so that, although they were encouraged to fight in the streets, yet, during the heat of the conflict, they were obliged to separate, at the command of the meanest citizen ; for obedience was held as the greatest of civil virtues. Modesty was esteemed in the second place. A boy never spoke first, at the public meals ; and, when interrogated, he replied briefly. It was disgraceful for him to turn his eyes to and fro, in the streets, but he was ordered to look straight before him, and keep his hands wrapped in his mantle. From the youths of adult stature, the ephori chose three hippagretes, or captains of horse, each of whom selected a hundred companions ; but he was obliged to give a reason for his choice. Great emulation, accordingly, was excited, and a noble rivalry for the reputation of good conduct. These three hundred were often used by the secret council for the execution of their commands, particularly against the Helots, who were the old inhabitants of marshy countries, on the seacoast, whom the Lacedæmonians had reduced to slavery, and treated with great cruelty.

All the citizens dined in public, arranged according to tribes. The old and young ate together, to the end that the sober gravity of age might be enlivened by the vivacity of youth ; and that the young men might form their minds, by the wise conversation of their seniors. Possessions were, for the most part, in common ; especially slaves, horses, and dogs ; the latter of which Laconia produced, of remarkably good quality.* The chase was a favorite sport ; and, in general, whatever produces health and animation, was regarded as the path to the highest virtue. He who had fled from the enemy never dared to show himself, afterwards, in public places ; but was obliged to stand up, in the presence of young persons. Oil and unguents were forbidden him ; he was subjected to corporal punishment ; and his life was harder to endure, than many deaths.

All arts of gain were forbidden to the citizens, since

* Julius Pollux. Onomasticon. Buffon.

it was held unseemly, that a freeman should depend for the means of his life upon the will of another. The use of silver and gold was abolished ; and the iron coin was so large and heavy, that the value of a few hundred dollars filled a wagon. The territory was at first divided into thirty thousand estates, of which each citizen, at first, possessed one. Accomplishments were not positively forbidden ; but only the most useful, such as military tactics, the knowledge of languages, and history were held in esteem. There were no authors in Sparta ; and, for all memorials of the virtues of this republic, we are indebted to the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians directed their attention to strength of body, health, and fortitude : they likewise exhibited, for a long time, a remarkable prudence and moderation, in the conduct of affairs ; and many, who could neither read nor write, by the soundness of their understanding baffled the acuteness of the most celebrated philosophers.

The faults of this constitution were the following. Too great advantages were conceded to women ; particularly, as estates devolved, by inheritance, upon them, and were also suffered to fall to their lot, by gift or legacy. Hence it happened, that, although no man could alienate the land which belonged to him, yet these sole riches of the Spartans came, at last, into the hands of a few families, connected together by marriage. So many of the men died in war, that two-fifths of the land fell into the possession of women. Moreover, since the impulses of nature will always maintain their right, and since Lycurgus had elevated his people above the level of humanity, it could not fail to happen, that there were many hypocrites. In reality, the less a man dared to enjoy, openly, so much the more careful were corrupt citizens to conceal what they had contrived to acquire by unlawful means. The ephori themselves, who were often poor, suffered this crime to fall to their charge, and also forgave many failings of the senate, in order that the latter might be induced to

examine their conduct less scrupulously. Those who could not contribute to the public meals were excluded from them, and from all share in public affairs, by a law, which probably was not enacted by Lycurgus. It further happened, that the laws, not being written, were, in corrupt times, interpreted by factions, according to their arbitrary will. The introduction of the office of navarch, or admiral, which gave great power and opulence, occasioned envy. The number of the citizens, being consumed by wars and seldom or never recruited by new additions,* was exhausted to that degree, that, instead of one thousand five hundred horsemen, and thirty thousand foot, it consisted, at length, of one thousand men only, and the thirty thousand portions of land were in the possession of only seven hundred persons.

It is true, that this corruption did not begin to display itself, until after the lapse of five centuries and a half; such force did the heroic character retain, which Lycurgus impressed upon his people. What an ascendancy must that lawgiver have possessed, who knew how to persuade the opulent of his country to an equal division of their lands, and to the abolition of money; who changed a whole republic into a single family, and gave to a corrupt populace a love for their country, capable of producing such wonderful effects; who infused into a multitude, a degree of valor, which never yielded, even after the calamitous day of Leuctra; and such mutual forbearance, that no civil war broke out among them, during seven hundred years, even after the decline of manners; who formed an army which never inquired how strong the enemy was, but only where he was to be found; youth, full of obedience and respect for their elders, and, at the same time, firmly resolved to conquer or die, for the liberty of Sparta; old men, who, after the field of Leuctra, with only one hundred young soldiers, arrested the victorious enemy, in his

* It would appear, however, from Pollux, that new additions were occasionally made.

impetuous career; women, who never repined, when their sons fell for their country, but bitterly wept, when they were not ashamed to survive their leader and fellow-soldiers; and, lastly, a nation, eloquent in short proverbs, and often in silence, in whom, two thousand five hundred years have not wholly extinguished the genius of liberty! For, after the republic, after Lacedæmon itself, had perished, neither the Roman power, nor the turbulent and degrading sway of the Byzantine monarchy, nor the arms of the Ottoman Turks, have been able wholly to subdue the citizens of Lycurgus. The bravest among them, as the son of Agesilaus long ago counselled them, left their falling country, and fled with their wives and children to the mountains.* After they had lost all, they still saved themselves; and they often descend, from the heights of Taygetus, to reap the fields which their more timid countrymen have sown for the oppressor. They still dwell, in freedom, on the mountains of Maina, under two chiefs, fearless of the Janizaries. Some of them have fled to Corsica, some to the North American Florida. The Mainotes themselves are strong, warlike men, and rival their forefathers of Lacedæmon.

CHAPTER V.

ATHENS.

It is impossible, after taking leave of Lacedæmon, to speak with interest of Argos, a greater city than Sparta; or of the riches of Corinth, which disappeared all at once; or of the barren antiquity of Sicyon; or of the turbulent Messene; or of the monotonous lives of the Arcadian shepherds. Athens, alone, is capable of fixing our attention.

In the first Book, we saw Theseus collect the fisher-

* Isocrates Archidamus.

men, shepherds, and rustics, from the twelve hamlets of Attica, into one city, at the foot of the Cecropian citadel, which was situated at about a league from the seacoast. Few of the old towns were built very near the shores, which were often alarmed by the incursions of pirates. A century and a half from the time of Theseus, Codrus, king of the Athenians, offered himself, in war, as a sacrifice for his country. After this deed, the people left to the kings only the superintendence of certain religious rites, and of the higher courts of judicature.* The principal seat in the senate, and in the popular assembly, and the command of the army, were confided to Medon, son of the late king, under the title of Archon. This office was, at first, for life ; but, four centuries afterwards, the Athenians limited the reign of the archon to ten years ; and, at last, nine archons were elected instead of one, and continued in office, only one year.

Instead of written laws, custom and precedent decided every thing, in Athens. The Areopagus, with three other courts, took cognizance of criminal suits, while the Heliaia, a numerous court of judicature, assembled by lot, presided over civil causes. The districts† of the city, the kindreds,‡ and the tribes,§ had over their members the right of protection and superintendence ; every citizen was obliged to enrol himself, first in his tribe, and afterwards in his district. The general assembly of all the Athenian people exercised the supreme power.

The duty of legislating was confided to the archon, Draco, a man, renowned for his virtues, who produced a written code of criminal laws, which was severe, the manners of the people being as yet ferocious. Not only murder was punished with death and confiscation, or perpetual banishment, but depredation, and even pet-

* Lycurgus in Leocrates. Antiphon.

† Δήμοι, [*Demoi*, districts.]

‡ Φρατρίαι, [*Phratriai*, kindreds.]

§ Φυλαί, [*Phulai*, tribes.]

ty theft, forfeited the life of the offender; for Draco wished, that such crimes might never become connected with any enjoyment or gain. This want of proportion between punishments and crimes rendered the fulfilling of these laws impossible; and hence, room was afforded for arbitrary judgement. If the laws of Draco had been observed, they would have rendered the character of the people still more barbarous.

The six inferior archons, or the Thesmothetæ, were appointed for interpreting and perfecting the laws, and for superintending their exercise;* but the necessity of a better code became more and more evident.

This was produced, after thirty years, by Solon, of Salamis, a man, who possessed great knowledge of human nature. The mind of Solon had been formed by long travels. His disposition was gentle and mild; he loved his fellow-citizens, and wished to console them for the evils of life; he beheld their frailties with pity and condescension. Solon was one of the seven sages, whose wisdom consisted in observations on the conduct of life, and who have transmitted scarcely any thing to our times. Solon was a poet, and the author of an ideally-perfect constitution, which was feigned to have existed in the lost region of Atlantis. Proverbial sentences were the chief work of the seven sages. They handed down two of these, in the temple of Delphi, as the sum of all human wisdom; these were, "Know thyself," and, "Do nothing to excess." Their philosophy was of an amiable character, and its object was to alleviate the misery of life. To this end, they instructed their disciples to look for the sources of happiness in themselves. They taught, that what allures the people is vain; that man must revere God, even in solitude and in the heart.† The greater number of

* Demosthenis contra Leptines. Pollux Onomasticon.

† "Homines existimare oportere omnia quæ cernuntur Deorum esse plena; fore enim castiores."—*Cicero, leg. ii.* [That men ought to consider all visible things as full of Deity; for that they would thus become the purer.—*Cicero de legibus.*]

them were statesmen ; as Chilon, ephor of Lacedæmon ; Bias, one of the most respectable chiefs of Ionia ; Pittacus, æsymnete, or president, of Lesbos ; Periander, prince of Corinth, who was mild in his sway, till necessity forced him to be severe, in self-defence, and who even afterwards acted the part of an upright arbiter, in the disputes of his neighbors, and died, weary of the burden of government. Solon, perceiving that a city, which already contained a numerous population, in a small and not very fruitful country, could not subsist, without the aid of industry and commerce, directed his attention, in establishing the laws, to this object, and gave them such a character, that artificers and merchants might find inducements to settle at Athens. He wished, accordingly, that each private individual should have greater advantages, than elsewhere, and that he should have more alluring rights, than in other constitutions. Hence, the dignity of human nature, even in slaves, was nowhere so much revered, as in Athens. Instead of wishing, like Lycurgus, to raise his citizens above the feelings of nature, he gave them laws, to which their affections might be attached, wishing to form men, if not heroes.

Yet Solon conceded not to all the citizens the same rights, but allotted to each class those which were most advantageous to it. He left the popular assembly no other power, in domestic affairs, than to elect magistrates, and to inspect the account, which each of them was obliged to give, of his administration. He moderated the terror of the oligarchical Areopagus, and increased the power of the aristocratic senate of five hundred. He established under good regulations the too democratic Heliaia. He divided the citizens, according to their property, into four classes ; the magistrates could only be chosen from the first three, the members of which could never want leisure, for the necessary attention to affairs. It was not lawful to elect any man, who was in debt to the state. The son of a citizen who died insolvent could neither enter the popular as-

sembly, nor speak before the judges, nor fill any office, till he had discharged his father's debts. Any man who had beaten his parents, or had not supported them, in their old age, (provided that they had caused him to learn any trade, for this was required ;) spend-thrifts, or those who had absented themselves from war or thrown away their arms, were all placed in the same predicament. Only married men, and those possessed of estates, could become generals, or popular orators. Under these regulations, the choice of an appointed number of senators and magistrates was left to the districts and tribes, but they were limited to those who possessed certain qualifications. If several men, thus endowed, had been proposed, the lot decided the choice. All offices appeared to be bestowed by the multitude ; but the laws, more powerful than their will, did not allow them, at least in this point, any influence, that might be detrimental to the state. Every man was interested in the laws, and all the citizens held themselves bound for their preservation ; they could not fail to be attached to them, since it was ordained, by one of the first, that any man, who sought to abolish the democracy, should forfeit protection, and be deprived of all his property, a tenth part of which was dedicated to the gods. If a tyranny should arise, the assassin of the tyrant was rewarded with the half of his estate ; and the republic was bound to support and honor his posterity, forever. Thus, it was part of the oath of the Heliastæ, to make the laws and ordinances of the people and the senate the only measure of their judgement ; and never to acquiesce in tyranny, oligarchy, or in a new abolition of debt, (for they once had been obliged, in the beginning, to suffer this measure to take place ;) to resist any division of property, destructive of private rights ; or the lengthening of the appointed period of any office ; or the reelection of any magistrate who had failed to give an account of his administration. In sudden emergencies, the senate had power to make decrees ; but they were not valid, more than

a year. New laws must be proposed, in the first place, to the magistrates; if they were approved by them, they were hung up, publicly, near the statues of the tutelar god of each tribe; lastly, the public scribe read them to the popular assembly, on certain days appointed for the purpose. The Thesmothetæ, alone, who were more than thirty years old, and were bound by the oath of the magistrates, had a right to invent laws. No new law could be introduced, until the old one had been solemnly abolished; and, before this could happen, the latter must be publicly defended, by five citizens, nominated for that purpose.

Every thing being subjected to scrutiny, election and the lot could not introduce any man to an important trust, or to any office which lasted more than thirty days, without his passing under an examination, before the magistrates. No individual, even a priest, could dispose of his person and estate, until he had given a satisfactory account of his conduct, before the Areopagus and the senate. The Thesmothetæ were obliged, once a year, to examine the code of laws, in order to discover if any thing contradictory, or any double law, on the same subject, had introduced itself, or if any thing obsolete was therein contained.

The legislative power belonged only to the citizens. No foreigner dared, under pain of death, to appear in the popular assembly; it was equally forbidden, to any person who had been condemned for cowardice, or brutality of manners.

In order to be made a citizen, six thousand votes were required; and, even if a greater number had approved the candidate, he was obliged to undergo an examination, before the magistrates. The new citizen himself could never attain, during his whole life, to the priesthood or archonship.

The ostracism is well known, by which, a number of votes being obtained against a powerful citizen, he could be banished from the city, for ten years, without any crime being alleged against him, or permission given him

to plead his cause. The same custom prevailed at Argos. This practice, which was introduced against men who were more powerful than the laws, was often a destructive tool, in the hands of factious demagogues, and good citizens often imprecated this institution, on the enemies of Athens. The spirit of faction, which was favored by it, and the arts of intrigue, which were necessary, even to truly great men, for their protection, were the main causes of the fall of the republic. The only thing that can be said for the ostracism is, that, on account of the facility with which great citizens became oppressors of the people, this honorable banishment, to which innocent persons were liable, for a time, appeared a less evil, than the danger which the whole state might incur, from a private individual. In cases of collision, the interests of the smaller number must yield to that of the country.

So long as the manners of the nation remained uncorrupt, the bad consequences of democracy were less observable; and we must allow, that the laws did much, towards the forming of public morals. No state was more strenuous in religious worship; and public proceedings were, for the most part, rendered solemn, by the celebration of pious observances. The kings and the Eumolpidæ took care that nothing indecent or disorderly should offend the gods. Persons in authority watched over education: even the hours of bodily exercise were long superintended: chaste manners were required, for the fulfilling of various religious rites, and even for civil affairs. Although it is impossible wholly to prevent excesses, yet wise men have thought it proper to forbid them, because, whatever must be done in secret, will be more seldom perpetrated, and not by all. In general, it was the fundamental maxim of the law-giver, that man ought to exert his utmost power, in order to obtain dominion over his passions, and to raise himself above the instincts, which he has in common with the brutes. The Athenians perceived, that the observance of temperance has much influence, in preserving and perfecting morals. The punishment of

adultery depended almost entirely on the injured husband ; only it was not in his power wholly to forgive. Marriage, indeed, was accompanied, among the ancients, with so much religious solemnity, that the violation of its laws seemed to involve contempt of the gods. Drunkenness was a crime, in Lacedæmon ; but, in Athens, it was only forbidden to a slave to drink in a public tavern.

Every age had its overseers and respective duties, under the superintendence of the Areopagus. All young people did not receive the same education ; but every one, that which was adapted to the circumstances of his fortune. Children, in general, learnt reading and writing, arithmetic, and the songs in praise of the gods, the heroes, and their ancestors. Afterwards, the poor were occupied with agriculture and commerce ; the rich, chiefly with military exercises, and especially that cavalry exercise, which became so celebrated in this state. Many hours were occupied with the chase, the gymnastic exercises, and, afterwards, with philosophy.

The poorer citizens became tenants to the rich ; the latter sought the favor of the people, by fair contracts. This they acquired by a display of magnificence, which afforded employment to numerous artisans. They were obliged to endeavor to please the meanest individual, who gave his vote for conferring the highest dignities. The command of the armies, especially, was given by simple elections ; and here, the open vote prevailed. This custom was better than that of the Swiss federation, in which, much more regard is paid to the canton from which each general is chosen, than to the qualifications which he ought to possess.

Solon's laws gave to each class of the citizens the rights that were most adapted to their condition. Those possessed of the most ample fortune, who were chiefly interested in the maintenance of order, were eligible to the senate of five hundred ; and the most noble, to the Areopagus. This court had a kind of superintendence over the public manners. The rites of

religion, arms, and the revenues, were under the administration of the senate, which also proposed to the people, wars, peace, treaties, and all affairs that related to the allies. It managed all business belonging to the city and country, as well as the courts of justice, and had the high concerns of the state under its control. The popular assembly contained, at different times, from twenty thousand to thirty thousand citizens. In order that no man might be injured in his person, a law was established, which extended to the conduct enjoined towards slaves. It was forbidden to strike them; they wore no livery, and they were not obliged to give place, when they met a free man. No city possessed so many well-ordered schools, baths, or dining-halls, for the districts or fraternities.

Yet the Attic government was not so lasting as the Lacedæmonian. Those who were always under the necessity of pleasing the many flattered their passions too much, and thereby introduced a corruption of manners. The greatest talents were required, in order to withstand the caprices of the multitude, in so great a city. How much more was this the case, when Athens became mistress of the sea! when a great number of mariners, without morals, necessitous and greedy, came into the popular assembly! Henceforward, the people paid little respect to virtue or honor, but were solely intent on exercising, to the utmost, their democratic power. Honest men were soon unwilling to acknowledge a country, thus governed, as their own. "In an aristocracy," says Xenophon, "extravagance and injustice have less prevalence. A multitude is, in poverty, more depraved; in prosperity, of insupportable insolence, and altogether intent upon selfish gain and licentiousness. Where it governs, who can oblige it to render an account? Few great Athenians have died a natural death, in their native country. No city domineered more violently, or took more fearful vengeance, for the least resistance to its sway; many of its public judgements were atrocious and unstable; and

treachery often lurked behind the scene. For these reasons, Athens could not maintain the dominion of Greece, during eighty years, and shortly fell so low, that the remembrance of former dignity gave place to the basest adulation."

This celebrated city was built upon an uneven foundation; its streets were irregular and very narrow; and few private houses were remarkably splendid. On the other hand, all ages have beheld, with delight, its public buildings, and have admired the wonderful effects, which the creative power of genius can display in metal and stone.


The Athenians possessed a greater share of acuteness, and the Lacedæmonians greater strength. Orators, of the most splendid talents, rivalled each other, in ruling the Athenian people, among whom every individual aimed at displaying his genius in political affairs; the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians was, to govern the instincts of Nature, and to maintain their freedom and their constitution. The Athenians possessed a thousand arts; the Lacedæmonians cared for nothing but liberty. They maintained this, during a long period. The Athenians, when they had lost every thing else, preserved their wit, and taste, and philosophy; and hence they maintained a sort of splendor, until the total extinction of the ancient world. Their minds abounded with a profusion of ideas. The citizens of Lycurgus had a few deeply-engraved principles, of which they were so much the more tenacious, while their rivals were subject to incessant change.

The great Pericles praised his fellow-citizens of Athens, for having lost nothing of their warlike spirit, through the cultivation of the sciences; yet the latter had not then attained any great advancement among people, who trembled, superstitiously, at an eclipse of the sun; and in valor, the Athenians were not equal to the foot-soldiers of the Lacedæmonians. His commendation of the Athenians, that, in times of war, they no longer amused themselves with the flowers of ora-

tory, was intended as an admonition. Though Pericles flattered them, on the ground that each mechanic knew something of the affairs of the state, yet it is not to be forgotten, that this half-knowledge operated greatly to the ruin of the republic. Each individual fancied that he understood every thing, as well as the most distinguished statesman. Athens never flourished more, than when the thundering eloquence and the irreproachable virtue of a Pericles held the multitude in control.

The Attic republic was more splendid, than any other in Greece; in essential excellence, the Spartan may claim some preeminence. Happy the state, happy the man, who unites the fine qualities of the Athenians with the magnanimity of the good citizens of Sparta! Loftiness of mind, heroism, the manly freedom and open character of the Spartan, are justly the first objects; but, after you have learnt to have as few wants as possible, neglect not to become capable of many great and noble actions. Republics may hence learn to be moderate, in freedom; and, when it is their fate to exist no longer, still to preserve their honorable name.

The governments of the ancients were in closer relation to the times, to the countries, and the people under their sway, than ours. The Roman law, foreign to our manners, has introduced among us many disadvantages. Although the ancients spoke less than we do of the love of mankind, in general; although they held slaves and foreigners in much less regard; yet the spirit of patriotism prevailed more among them. In those little states, or, more properly, towns, men were nearer to the first family relations, and therefore, no man ever thought of introducing foreign manners. Accordingly, all public affairs, characters, customs, and books, were in the spirit of the times, and of each nation, till Alexander and Rome effected a general intermixture. It was then, also, for the first time, that writers lost the ancient simplicity and popularity of their style.



CHAPTER VI.

THE OTHER REPUBLICS IN GREECE AND LESSER ASIA.

AFTER the Heraclidæ had secured their possessions in the Peloponnesus, and the government of Athens became settled under archons, the political system of Greece acquired stability. Men of adventurous spirit, when their country no longer afforded a field for revolutionary enterprises, employed themselves in founding colonies.

Argos received laws from the Heraclide, Phidon, who gave, to all citizens able to maintain a horse, a share in the supreme power. He also encouraged industry. He appears to have given, to weights and measures, values which became generally established; and caused money to be coined in the island of Ægina.

Philolaus, an illustrious Corinthian, was the lawgiver of the Bœotian Thebes. The principle of his system was, to begin with the education of youth; and he sought to maintain equality of wealth, by imposing difficulties on the alienation of hereditary property. This commonwealth was administered by wise men, who, by their moderation, obtained for it a state of undisturbed security, during two hundred and fifty years.

Corinth itself was governed by its aristocracy, until Cypselus, father of the wise Periander, became a demagogue, and thereby acquired the sovereignty. At first, he ruled without a guard, and was oppressive only to the great; but soon, for the maintenance of his power, he was induced to have recourse to military support and taxation. He now vowed to bestow on the Delphic god a tenth part of the wealth of Corinth. It was therefore necessary that each citizen should give a faithful account of his possessions; according to which, Cypselus settled the impost. Corinth was al-

ready, at this time, a rich commercial city. The first example of a seafight was given by the Corinthians, in a war against the Corcyreans.

The tax upon merchandise was a chief branch of the revenue. Already, the exuberance of wealth, and the laws, which left property too much at the arbitrary disposal of individuals, gave occasion to extravagant luxury, which the frugal Cypselus wished to reduce within limits. For this purpose, he erected a commission, to observe that no man, in his expenditure, exceeded his income.

[B. C. 734.] During this period, the Heraclides of Argos, in a valley of Pæonia, founded the kingdom of the Macedonians, who, within four centuries, subdued the barbarous nations in their vicinity, and, amidst these wars, prepared themselves for the conquest of the world.

[B. C. 775.] The renewal of the games, celebrated at a temple of the Olympian Jupiter, on the river Alpheus, in Elis, was, at that time, a more important event for Greece; as, by it, the growing republics obtained a point of union, where the Greeks acquired a national feeling. The fame and advantages which strength, agility, and genius, gave to the conquerors, roused the exertions of talent; the nation paid them honors, and their native city gave each of them his maintenance, for life. In these assemblies, the name of philosophers was heard, for the first time; and here, the golden statue in the Delphic temple was decreed to the orator Gorgias, and an impulse was given to the display of arts and magnificence. But the champions celebrated by Pindar were neither the liberators nor the warriors of Greece; for exercises, followed too vehemently, quickly exhausted the strength; and it happened only twice or thrice, that he, who had been conqueror, in his youth, was able to obtain the same honor, in his manhood; yet the national respect for such talents gave to all freemen a fondness for those exercises, the moderate use of which maintained the

vigor of body and mind. Slaves were not allowed to engage in these contests.

The Asiatic coasts and the adjacent islands had suffered much, in the Trojan War. In the course of the following century, while Greece was in a state of agitation, many cities were founded in Lesbos, and on the coast. Already, Cumæ and Smyrna flourished, when the god of Delphi and the council of the Amphictyons confided to Neleus, a son of the last Athenian king, the colonization of Ionia. [B. C. 1071.] Thirteen colonies were founded, within a short space of time, in this luxuriant and romantic country. They drove out the Carian shepherds, who fed their flocks in the meadows of Mæander; and the swans of the Cayster delighted in the gardens, which began to bloom over its banks. The verdant hills, the gentle climate, of Ionia, watered by numerous rivers, and the coast, abounding in secure havens, attracted and called forth a numerous population. The people, crowded in their splendid cities, soon found themselves under the necessity of sending out colonies. Who is not acquainted with Ephesus, Teios, Colophon, Phocæa, Priene, Samos, Chios, Miletus, cities abounding in genius, luxury, and every polite refinement? They had a mutual bond of connexion, at the temple of the god who had conducted them over the waters of the Ægean sea. The fane of Neptune, on the promontory of Mycale, was the Panionium, or place of assembly for their deputies and chief citizens. Hither, no stranger was admitted; and even the more ancient Smyrna first obtained the privilege, after nine hundred years, through the powerful influence of a king of Pergamus. The bonds of fraternity were more lasting than the independence of these cities, although they were peopled from more than one region, and spoke the Greek language, in all its four dialects.

Two other federal republics, of a similar description, formed themselves in the neighborhood of Ionia. Twelve cities arose in the more fruitful, though less

beautiful, Æolia, to which belonged Cuma, and, originally, Smyrna ; there were six Æolian cities in Lesbos, and one in the isle of Tenedos ; others flourished on Mount Ida ; and a little Venice grew on the cluster, called the hundred islands. The Dorian confederacy, to the southward of Ionia, consisted of six towns. One was Cnidos ; another adorned the isle of Cos ; but Halicarnassus was the chief city. This town was excluded from the league, on the following occasion : the champions, who contended in the social games at the Triopieum, had vowed tripods to the national god, when one of the victors, who came from Halicarnassus, refused to pay to Apollo the price of his victory, and his fellow-citizens supported him, in his impiety.

These thirty or thirty-one cities, in their three confederations, adorned the coasts of Lesser Asia, from the Sigeian promontory to the spot where all the Greeks admired the celestial Venus of Cnidos. They established colonies in the present Taurus, on all the shore of Pontus, on the Borysthenes, and the Tyras.* Sestos and Abydos (the Dardanelles) are works of the Æolians ; and the flourishing cities of Heraclea, Sinope, Amastris, were founded by the Ionians. [B. C. 747.] Byzantium, which lay in the most important site for commerce and dominion, and which became, in after-ages, a new Rome, was settled by emigrants from Corinth and Megara, contemporaneously with the foundation of Rome, the mistress of the world. Through the whole of the Black Sea, and the Mæotic marsh, a thriving commerce was carried on ; and there are even traces which indicate, that it extended, from nation to nation, far into the north, towards the Baltic gulf.†

* Periplus Ponti Euxin. et Mæotid. Palud. in Hudson's Geograph. Vet. [Voyage round the Euxine Sea, and Lake Mæotis, (now called the Sea of Azoph,) in Hudson's Ancient Geography.] Scymnus Chius.

† Uphagen. Parerga Historica.

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIES IN ITALY AND SICILY.

ANOTHER enterprise, of which Theocles, from Athens, made a beginning, and which was supported by the Dorians and Ionians, from the islands and the continent, gave origin to most of the Sicilian towns. The Corinthian, Archias, founded Syracuse; the Samians and Naxians, Messene.* The latter passed over the strait, and built Rhegium. The delightful climate and the fruitful soil of Sicily gave, in a short time, to the colonies in that island, an extent and opulence, which the cities of lower Italy or Magna Græcia alone could rival.

In the latter country, an Argive citizen, against the laws of his native city, which condemned to death whoever promoted emigration, founded Croton, [B. C. 709,] a powerful republic, and the successful rival of the neighboring and voluptuous Sybaris, founded by the Trœzenians and other Achæans. The gardens of Pæstum were planted by the effeminate hands of the Sybarites; a population, amounting to one hundred thousand souls, gave to this city the ambition of becoming, [B. C. 719,] instead of Olympia, the seat of the games celebrated in common, by the Greeks.

[B. C. 645.] The Lacedæmonians followed the example of the other Grecian tribes, and established the colony of Tarentum, the government and manners of which soon declined, greatly, from the good order and manly character of the mother country. It would appear, indeed, that its founders, the Parthenians, had even, in Sparta, endeavored to pervert the institutions of Lycurgus.

The tradition, that the Samnites and Sabines were

* Marmora Arundelia, [Arundelian Marbles.] Scymnus.

branches of the Laconian stem, appears to have had no firmer foundation than a certain resemblance, in character and manners.

The Cnicians and Æolians founded the Italian Cumæ and Lipara, where the old god of the winds held the contending storms imprisoned in the jaws of a mountain which often vomited forth flames. Naples received its slender beginning from the Marsians, who descended from the mountains, to settle on the more sheltered coast.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME.

UNOBSERVED by the states of Greece, a republic was gradually formed in Italy, whose people, great in wisdom and courage, finally displayed, more than all other nations, what firmness of character and military discipline can effect. We are here to speak of Rome, whose arms or laws have domineered over the greater portion of our civilized world; and in whose history, every statesman, soldier, and citizen, find exhibited, the most impressive examples, whether for imitation or for warning; a state, in which Nature exerted herself, to show how far the powers of man are able to prevail over the most unfavorable circumstances. The eternal Rome yet stands! The majesty of her ruins inspires a sentiment of awe; the statues of her heroes still elevate the soul; we wonder at the indestructible monuments of her genius and taste, by which the dominion of the human mind was as far extended, as her empire by the force of arms. Pliny rightly named her the mistress of the world and the metropolis of the habitable earth, destined by the gods to unite the scattered races of men, to civilize and to govern them.

Rome appears to have been founded in the seven

hundred and fifty-third year before the Christian era, in the second or third of the sixteenth Olympiad. The elder Cato and Varro, the most learned Romans, agree, within a few years, in this computation. Far more ancient was the settlement on the Palatine mountain, and the cultivation of the neighboring district, by Arcadians and other Greeks, as well as by Trojan colonists. The thirteen hamlets, also, around the mountain of Latium, of which the town of Alba Longa was the chief, were more ancient than Rome. The fear of piracy, which infested the roads and coasts, a profession at that time honorable, induced the first Romans to erect their city on hills, which were accessible to the sea, by going up the Tiber, but lay at the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from the shore. From the Colline hill, Romulus drew his wall over the Viminal to the Esquiline; he made a ditch, formed the wall of the earth thrown out of it, and secured it with bulwarks of stone. By degrees, the seven hills were included, from which it was henceforward easy to observe and to frustrate hostile movements. A morass at that time divided the Palatine and Capitoline mounts, and a forest separated the latter from the western Aventine, over against which was the Cœlian hill; the two latter are of similar form, and five or six times as long as they are broad. The city had four districts, but the Tuscan hamlet was presently added by the Tyrrhenians, and a Sabine settlement was made on the Capitoline hill. The original inhabitants were of several nations, and they remained distinct. The constitution of Rome gave to the most different people, who were included within the city, a similar genius; whatever excellence each tribe brought with it, in military affairs, in religion, or in political forms, was imparted to the commonwealth; and all acquired, in return, the feeling of Roman citizens.

The oldest chiefs of the Romans promoted this flowing in of strangers; and, by their conquests, and the friendly reception which they gave to the vanquished, and to foreigners, in general, soon acquired for their

state such a preeminence in power, that men of all nations were glad to lose their former distinctions, in order to become Romans. Thus, many thousand Italians flocked to Rome, induced by poverty, or a roving disposition, by the destruction of their native cities, or, frequently, by the fear of punishment for some daring crime.

The constitution bore traces of Grecian manners, but such as both Greeks and Italians may have derived from a common source. Cæcilius Quadrigarius sought, perhaps too eagerly, to represent Latium as a Grecian state, intending to confer honor upon it, by that name. Dionysius, the Halicarnassian, likewise, exerted much ingenuity, to show that the Romans were Greeks; wishing to have it understood, that the dominion of the world was in the hands of his countrymen. It is true, also, that Demetrius Poliorcetes addressed a letter to the Romans, as Greeks; but his opinion would be more decisive concerning the power of a battering-ram, than a point of antiquity. Rome had already become great and powerful, when it was first known to Greece. Before Hieronymus of Cordia, the friend of Eumenes, its name is not mentioned, in any writing of undoubted authority. The fate of the Romans was similar to that of the Tyrrhenians, whose origin the old authors deduced from Asia, while the name of their founder was unknown, even to tradition,* and every thing in their history leads us back to a remote and obscure antiquity.

The first magistrates of the Roman commonwealth were called kings, but the government, in reality, depended on the laws. The senate elected the kings, and the people confirmed their choice, till Servius Tullius ruled by means of the people, without the senate, and Tarquin seized the government in his own hands, to the exclusion of the people. At the period of its foundation, Rome contained three thousand freemen,

* Tages meant only prince or man.—*Cicero, Divin. ii.*

capable of bearing arms, of whom three hundred served on horseback ; they were divided into three bodies or tribes, and a tribune commanded each. These bodies were called selections, or, in Latin, legions. Each tribe was separated into *curiæ*, or companies of one hundred, and each of the latter into *decuriæ*, or tens. No man was admitted into the army who did not possess two acres, or *jugera*, of land. The territory was divided into small portions, and a part was set aside for the service of the altar, while there were common lands for the free use of the poor. As families multiplied, a third part, or two thirds, of the territories of conquered towns, were allotted to those citizens who were not yet possessed of estates.

The pressing want of more extensive boundaries, or of a more fruitful soil, while arts and commerce, which, at Rome, never attained a high perfection, were as yet in their infancy, soon involved this city, which, from its beginning, contained a great population, in dangerous wars. Colonies were founded, in the conquered countries, and, on the other hand, the chief persons of the conquered states became Roman citizens. Indissoluble, and at the same time agreeable, bonds were thus established ; the cultivation of land increased ; and the colonies served the purpose of garrisons. During some hundred years, the Romans were warriors and husbandmen ; and, so long as they continued in these habits, and spent the greater part of their lives in the country, the purity and simplicity of their manners were preserved.

Romulus lived to see his three thousand three hundred men already increased to forty-six thousand who served on foot, and a thousand cavalry. He found it impossible, either by his own authority, or by that of a senate composed of the heads of families, to restrain the multitude of impetuous youth, and he called the gods to his assistance. No other people ever worshipped the gods more religiously, or with greater constancy, than the Romans. Three centuries after skepti-

cism had begun to flourish at Athens, Cicero, for the first time at Rome, made the nature of the gods the subject of philosophical discussion. Skepticism was introduced by the Epicureans, about the time of Sylla. The religion of the old Romans was grave and chaste. Their discourses did not turn, like those of the Greeks, on Jupiter's amours and the immoralities of the gods. Bacchanalian orgies were for a long time prohibited; and most of the festivals had relation to rural affairs, while they were distinguished by purity of manners, temperance, and rustic mirth. The people were cheered, in the case of signal misfortunes, by solemn feasts; and they were never permitted to doubt of the favor of the gods to the Eternal City. On the other hand, a religious sentiment pervaded even the habits of private life; for the legislators wished, that each individual should feel himself in the presence and in the hands of the governors of Nature and of fate. Nightly ceremonies, attended by both sexes, and mystic associations, were forbidden by the laws. Sixty men, possessed of property, and renowned for the integrity of their lives, were chosen, from the first families, to constitute the priesthood which Romulus ordained. It was required, that they should all be upwards of fifty years of age; and they were chosen by the assembled people, divided into their *curiæ*, over each of which a tutelar god presided. Numa multiplied the rites and ceremonies of religion, and introduced augurs, or soothsayers.

Henceforth, Rome possessed eight classes, consecrated to the purposes of religion. The first of these were the *curiones*, or priests appropriated to the gods of the *curiæ*; the *flamines* served the higher deities: the *kings* were obliged to perform certain sacrifices, or, at least, their presence at such ceremonies was required. The *augurs*, or interpreters of omens, soon became celebrated, and six noble youths were always instructed in their art, by Tyrrhenian masters. The principles of their science contained innumerable exceptions, which were convenient to the designs of the ruling magistracy. The

augurs could dissolve elective assemblies, annul decrees and laws, or give and take away the power of speaking in public. When the consulate was established, they could oblige the consuls to lay down their dignity, and they still retained their respect and influence, after Rome had become sovereign of the world. Four, and afterwards six, *vestal* virgins, chosen by the pontiffs, out of noble families, watched over the perpetual fire, the inaccessible tutelar divinity of Rome; and, in the house of a citizen of the first dignity, performed sacrifices to the ‘*Bona Dea*,’* whose name was concealed in mystery; the earth represented her temple, and the vestal flame was a type of the genial warmth which enlivens Nature.† During thirty years, the vestals were obliged to maintain an inviolable virginity. The *salian* priests were at first patricians, and always free citizens; they danced in arms, to the honor of the gods, like the Cretan curetes; a practice, which the priests and monks of many Eastern nations have continued, from the oldest times to the present day. Men have fancied themselves approaching to the perception of uncreated light, when, by deep and devout contemplations, or by whirling motions of the body, they have deprived themselves of all consciousness of sensation. The *feciales*, who had the superintendence of the laws of war, and of treaties and alliances, were the offspring of illustrious families. The *pontiffs* presided over the whole religious constitution. Their establishment would seem to reach up to those remote times, when, before Hercules, or before civilized strangers tamed the barbarians of Latium, twenty-four or thirty men were annually thrown from a bridge into the Tiber, a usage which was preserved, in the custom of throwing as many human figures, formed of willow twigs. Was it the practice of the ancients, on a certain day, as it is yet with the Siberian hordes, to offer up the burdensome and

* [The good Goddess.]

† “Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intelligi Flammam.” — *Ovid*.
[Nor do thou understand by Vesta, aught else than a living Flame.]

useless life of aged men to the river-gods? or did they believe, like the Northern nations, that the effusion of human blood is requisite, in order to reconcile the gods to sinful mortals? Was it the memorial of an act which the Trojans had vowed or practised, in revenge against the Greeks, or which Evander perpetrated, against the Argive rivals of his family?*

The pontiffs were the most dignified college; they were accountable neither to the senate nor to the people; and they filled the vacant places in their own body.

The most ancient solemnities were, originally, the festive meetings of a pastoral people. Afterwards, when the priests arranged the affairs of agriculture, they fixed the time when the sowing, the harvest, the vintage, and other rustic business, should be solemnized and entered upon. Each district had particular festivals, with reference to its situation and mode of culture. Every year, the chief men commended the most industrious and intelligent farmers, and publicly named the most indolent. The offerings to the gods were simple and innocent. At other festivals, families came together, and mutually forgot their animosities. On the Palatine hill there was a chapel of the goddess who reconciled husbands and wives. The people celebrated the day of Anna Perenna with merriment, under the open sky, or under tents, in the meadows on the banks of Tiber. Thus were barbarians brought, by music, to refinement, through the operation of noble and gentle sentiments; thus religion supported the constitution, imparted solemnity to the habits of life, and afforded, to the dying, the hope of an endless existence.

The private life of the Roman citizen was an exact copy of his public life. Hence, the great and never-terminating authority of parents; because good order, in peace, and success, in war, depend on the habit of perfect obedience. Among barbarous nations, the parental authority did not reach beyond childhood;

* The figures were called Argei.

among the Greeks, it terminated, when the son was married, or enrolled in his tribe, and extended only to the power of disinheriting ; while, among the Romans, the father could inflict capital punishment upon a son, long after he had attained manhood, and even while he was invested with public dignities. This law was severe, but the times rendered it innocent, and the tone of manners mitigated its exercise. The husband and wife lived in a community of possessions, and, when the father died, the mother inherited a child's portion, or the whole, when there were no children, or when her husband was intestate ; because the mother of the family is as much concerned, and ought to feel as lively an interest, as the husband, in promoting its welfare. Handicrafts and trades of gain fell, at Rome, to the lot of slaves and strangers, that the citizens of the rising republic might neither be rendered effeminate, by a sedentary life, at home, nor unworthily dependent on each other. The poorer and meaner citizens were indeed dependent, as clients, on powerful patrons, and the laws held this relation so sacred, that a patron and his client never appeared as witnesses against each other, under pain of death, nor was one allowed to plead against, or to sit as judge over, the other. The patron conducted the affairs of his client as his own, contributed to the portioning of his daughters, to the defraying of his public expenses, and, when his client fell into the hand of an enemy, provided for his ransom.

Such was the constitution of ancient Rome. At the head of it, were kings ; or, when they were absent in military expeditions, prefects, whom the kings appointed, and a senate, which, at the beginning, consisted of a hundred patricians, elected by the tribes and *curiæ*.

The governing powers were so equally balanced, that the senate could neither make wars and enact laws, nor distribute high offices, without the consent of the people ; nor the latter effect any thing, without being regularly called together ; while the king had neither authority, as military chief, to declare war by his own de-

cree, nor, as supreme judge, to condemn an individual to death, by arbitrary sentence.

The Roman kings must have possessed extraordinary talents ; otherwise, how could they have been able to found a state, which, without territory, without a fleet, in the midst of formidable foes and treacherous friends, not only maintained its often struggling independence, but acquired, in a few centuries, the sovereignty of all Italy ? Rome knew not, as yet, the names of the nations which were doomed afterwards to fall prostrate, before her arms ; but her constancy and perseverance are coeval with the origin of her history.

CHAPTER IX.

CARTHAGE.

DURING the same interval, Carthage was founded, in Africa, by the Phœnicians, who had formed settlements on this coast, from the earliest times. Even in the present day, we recognise, in the names of the Falastin, of Chus, and of other tribes who wander around the mountains of Atlas, the posterity of the Philistines, and of the races that were driven out of Canaan, by Joshua, the successor of Moses. The coasts of Africa attracted settlers, by their extraordinary fertility.

From the southern extremity of the vast peninsula of Africa, a ridge of very high mountains appears to take a northerly direction, and to send off immense branches to the east and west. The western range is called Atlas, or Daran ; the eastern is known by the name of the Mountains of the Moon, in which are situated the sources of the Nile. At the foot of these mountains are interminable deserts of sand. The central region is perhaps now burnt by the perpetual influence of the solar fire ; but, after the lapse of some thousand years, if the habitable world should last so

long, and should gradually grow colder, as Buffon conjectures, it may become the seat of living nature. The coasts have ever abounded in corn. Wild beasts were driven, by the ancient hunters, out of the inland tracts. There were formerly, in Numidia, from five to ten times as many lions, as at present, and we may hence conclude, that the population of the country has increased.

On a rock, in the back ground of a bay, Carthage rose to view. Byrsa was the name of the higher part of the city ; and the lower streets, on the narrow tongue of land which formed the double haven, had the name of Megara ; the tract adjoining the great haven was called Kotton, and an island lay opposite to the projecting point, which was also inhabited. The two chief magistrates of Carthage were called *suffetes*, or judges ; they were annually elected, from the oldest and most opulent families, who had accordingly leisure to bestow their attention on affairs of state. In general, riches, and whatever leads to the acquisition of them, were held in the highest estimation among the Carthaginians, who had both the good and bad qualities that are connected with mercantile habits. Under the *suffetes*, five officers had the direction of the most important affairs, who may be compared to the Savi of Venice ; they elected each other, and those who had preceded them in their office, and who had appointed them to it, were the assistants of the five. They received no pay, in order that none, except the rich, might seek this dignity. They nominated the senate, which consisted of one hundred members. This body and the five, when they agreed unanimously, were omnipotent in the state ; but, if they differed in opinion, the matter was brought before the people, who could give their preference to either opinion, or modify a conclusion adopted by the others. When the public morals became corrupted, by wealth, the state suffered, at the same time, the evils of oligarchy and of ochlocracy. Every thing was venal ; the party leaders thought only of themselves, and the commonwealth was neglected.

Before this period, the Carthaginians had become, by their superior intelligence, masters of three hundred neighboring cities. They undertook many distant enterprises, by means of which the multitude of the poorest citizens was lessened, and their pernicious influence on the state counteracted.

The celebrated mines of Old Spain were worked by the Carthaginians; and, with the gold procured from these, they hired Spanish, Ligurian, and Italian, soldiers. Hence, the people soon became unwarlike, and, consequently, suspicious of their subjects; and Carthage oppressed the African cities, so that, in time of war, they were always eager to receive the enemy. The island of Sardinia, which the Carthaginians had subdued, was entirely laid waste, and it was forbidden, under pain of death, to restore its cultivation. They were afraid of its acquiring a prosperous state, lest it should recover its independence. This anciently-peopled and flourishing island, into which Bias, of Priene, wished to transplant the whole federal republic of Ionia, was so completely ruined, that it never again was able to emerge from obscurity. The descendants of the Grecian colonists fled into the mountains, lived in freedom, and became barbarous. Sardinia has ever since continued in this state.

The Carthaginians forbade the scarcely-discovered passage to the Canary islands. They seemed to fear, lest their people might discover a better country than Carthage; and gladly would they have shut the world against it, in order to subject it more completely to their arbitrary disposal. Yet the thirst of gain induced them not to give up their maritime expeditions. They, however, kept their discoveries secret, in order to be secure against competitors; and it is hence impossible to ascertain the extent of their voyages. They held Sicily, Malta, Golo, the Balearic isles, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain, under their sway; they frequented the west of Africa, as far as the Cape de Verd, and traversed the European seas to the British isles. We

are not sufficiently acquainted with the date of the abstract from Hanno's apparently very ancient voyage. Scylax, who is said to have been an admiral of the Persian king Darius, mentions colonies which the former had no knowledge of, and found the Negro hordes more civilized ; but it is also uncertain, to what period his voyage belongs. As little is it known, how far Himilco proceeded towards the northwest.

The ancient navigators complained of shallows, in these regions of the ocean ; and there was probably some geographical foundation for this remark. We know that Plato, on the authority of ancient traditions, which he obtained from the priests of Sais, in Egypt, makes mention of a country situated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which, during a tempestuous night, sunk into the deep. The same author notices, also, a country, beyond the Atlantic ocean, and a number of islands, which lie near its coast ; and the tradition of a great continent, fully as large as the Old World, was not unknown to Aristotle. It is remarkable, that later navigators have observed many shallows, nearly connected together, in a line stretching from Spain, through the Azores, towards Newfoundland. It is possible, that, after the submersion of the tract of land which served for the connexion of the two continents, navigation might become excessively difficult, until the overflowed countries gradually sunk to a greater depth ; and thus, at the same time, gave occasion to the retiring of the waters from the European coasts.* It would be too bold to draw an inference from the monument,

* It is certain, that the Mediterranean had formerly a much higher level than it now has ; and that its waters covered a great portion of the present coasts. The province of Valencia, and some other parts of the Spanish peninsula, were then under the sea, which washed the feet of the mountains of Castile. Perhaps the gradual retiring of the waters has given birth to Lower Egypt. The ancients assert it to have been gained by deposits of soil from the Nile ; but great difficulties attend this hypothesis, and the dispute on this subject admits of a more probable solution.

The Baltic is well known to have exceeded its modern limits, in a still greater degree than the Mediterranean.—*T.*

apparently Punic,* which was found, some years ago, in the forests behind Boston. It is possible, that some Tyrians or Carthaginians, thrown, by storms, upon unknown coasts, uncertain if ever the same tracts might be again discovered, chose to leave this monument of their adventures. Of their further expeditions, there is no trace; nor do we know, whether these adventurers returned. Probably, the marshy soil of this part of New England had but little attraction for the avarice of the Phœnicians.

In the midst of many commercial enterprises, the Carthaginians never lost their barbarism. It is needless to mention the unutterable cruelties perpetrated at Himera, Selinus, Agrigentum, or the executions of their generals, who were crucified for fighting unsuccessfully, and even for displaying too much valor. How could a religion, which, in times of public alarm, placed three hundred noble youths in the blazing arms of Moloch, soften the ferocity of its wretched devotees?

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

WE have thus traced the outlines of the chief republics, that were founded during the interval above defined. The wanderings of the Northern nations are

*The Monument alluded to is the one commonly known as the Dighton Rock, situated in the town of Berkley, in Massachusetts. At the time when the author wrote, the inscriptions and figures on this rock were supposed, by many antiquaries, to be of Punic or Phœnician origin. This opinion has at present few, if any, advocates. A more probable theory has been recently started, which attributes the inscriptions in question to the Northmen, who visited the coast of America, probably at some point not very remote from this rock, at the beginning of the eleventh century. The subject is fully discussed in the late Work of the Danish Society of Northern Antiquaries, upon the discovery of America by the Northmen, entitled '*Antiquitates Americanæ*.'

unknown ; and memorials were scarcely preserved, in Asia, of the movements of those Scythian hordes, who inundated the plains of Lydia, Media, and perhaps all that quarter of the world, as far as Galilee. Taunak was the name of the first leader of those tribes, who have so often poured themselves down from the mountains of Gog and Magog, or Great Tartary, over the civilized world.

We confine our attention to the Greeks and Romans. Our customs, laws, and arts, came from Italy, whither they were carried by the Greeks. These are the instruments, by which the smallest division of the globe influences the fate of all nations ; these are the powers, which have displayed human nature, in all its dignity, and the contemplation of which is most interesting to the citizen of the world. The nation which possesses, in the most eminent degree, the qualities to which Europe is indebted for her preponderance, must become the first, among European states. Let us follow the course of this light. We shall finally see a spark of it enliven the gloomy North ; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we shall behold a blaze go forth, into the darkest regions of the earth, which, by degrees, awakens the most inert, but, together with the prejudices of barbarous antiquity, threatens to consume the venerable remains of ancient virtue.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK III.

SOURCES OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

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SOURCES OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE Athenians, even during the life of Solon, had fallen under the tyranny of Pisistratus. They were liberated from it, after two generations, in the same year in which Brutus banished the kings from Rome, and established the consulate. The revolution in Attica occasioned a war with Persia, during which, the Athenians, who were the victorious party, became the most powerful of the Grecian republics, by sea and land. The strength of the Grecian states was afterwards exhausted, by intestine wars, and they were the more easily overpowered by Philip, king of Macedon. His son Alexander, having thus attained extensive power, conquered the empire of the Persians. In all these affairs, the Romans took no part, but separately increased their own strength, to that degree, that, in the sequel, they were able completely to vanquish the Macedonians, the conquerors of Greece. This success gave the Romans an extent of power and a degree of opulence, which the purity of their primitive manners could not withstand: with their virtue, they lost their freedom, and fell under the dominion of a single despot.

From the Persian war to the battle of Chæronea, where the liberty of Greece expired, a hundred and forty-two years elapsed; during which period, Athens possessed the chief power seventy-five years; Lacedæmon, thirty-four years; during eight years, Epaminondas, the victorious hero of Leuctra, held, by his merit, an ascendancy over the Greeks; and, for the remain-

ing twenty-five years, all was in anarchy and confusion. The dominion of Philip and Alexander continued not more than fifteen years, and the states, that were formed out of its ruins, had their complete termination, two hundred and ninety-three years after Alexander's death.

Rome remained two hundred and forty-four years under its kings, and two hundred and forty-four years were spent in subduing the Italian nations. During this latter period, Rome and Carthage struggled sixty-four years for the superiority, until the battle of Zama decided the contest; sixty-eight years passed, in the conquest of the states capable of resistance, until, after the extinction of Carthage, Achæa, and Numantia, the Romans fell into sanguinary broils amongst themselves; ninety-two years elapsed, from Tiberius Gracchus, who gave the pretext for these disturbances, to the battle of Philippi and the death of Cassius and Brutus, the last Romans who were worthy of the name. Seventy years after this event, Tiberius Cæsar gave a free rein to tyranny, no man any longer daring to raise his voice against the most hideous atrocities. Such is a brief outline of the order of events.

These five hundred and thirty-eight years, during which, liberty sometimes flourished and sometimes declined, are so rich in events, that it is impossible to touch upon all the subjects of interest, in the space of a brief survey. I cannot, therefore, refrain from briefly enumerating those sources, the study of which must supply this defect, and wherein are contained treasures of political and moral wisdom, which the ages hitherto elapsed have not known how to estimate.

CHAPTER II.

HERODOTUS.

GREECE had historians, soon after Solon's time; but we possess only fragments of the works of Hellanicus

and Hecataeus. In the thirty-third year after the victory over the Persians, Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, read his history of the wars carried on between Europe and Asia, before the people assembled at Athens, at the festival of the tutelar goddess. His work was composed in a style and spirit, which seemed excellently fitted to communicate correct ideas of the situations and laws of nations, and to excite a passion for great and extensive enterprises. The author, who was only thirty-eight years old, had travelled to the borders of Ethiopia and Babylonia. In the Ionian colonies on the Euxine, he had obtained information concerning Scythia. In proportion as the latter country has been penetrated, and the character of the Oriental people has been studied, the reputation of this historian has increased. Wits and satirists have, with too much levity, rejected many relations, as fabulous, which are only contrary to our manners, and to the nature of our climate. When Herodotus speaks of Grecian affairs, he displays much profound learning, enlivened by an ardent love of his country. We cannot easily prove, that the latter has ever induced him to assert what was contrary to the truth; but he may be suspected of having omitted some circumstances, by which his eloquence or his patriotism would have lost in splendor, for he read his work to the people, and he wished to please them. But it requires more acquaintance with mankind, more knowledge of countries and of Nature, to sift the truth, in these ancient stories, than to pass a hasty sentence of condemnation upon them.

Those who are capable of discerning the beautiful and excellent, in style, will admire, in Herodotus, the greatest master of the historic art. He follows the connexion of events, instead of recording, which would have been a far more easy task, what occurred from year to year. In the delineation of manners, he has left a great example to later historians. The benignity of his own mind infuses itself into that of his reader, and it is impossible to describe the melody of his Ionic

periods. He surpasses the rivals of his fame, in a more noble and interesting simplicity, and in a singularly well-imagined plan, as natural as it is fascinating by variety.

CHAPTER III.

THUCYDIDES.

WHILE Herodotus was reciting his history, he observed a young man beside him, who betrayed marks of strong emotion. He was struck with the intelligent aspect of his countenance, and counselled his father to give him the education of a philosopher. Thucydides was the name of this youth; and Olorus that of the father. Thucydides, in recording the period of the Athenian sway, from the last battle against the Persians, to the twenty-second year of the Peloponnesian war, has displayed such profound thought, such knowledge of men and of states, and, at the same time, such powerful, majestic eloquence, that, as an historian, he is justly preferred to all others, or placed on a level with the most illustrious; and, as an orator, he rivals the fame of the great Demosthenes. If his predecessor is more remarkable for a natural grace of manner, a close study of Thucydides opens to our view a greater perfection of art. Herodotus is more fascinating, but the manner of Thucydides is more noble and exalted. In this, he is distinguished from Tacitus; that, in the reflections of the Roman we recognise the strong sense of a Stoic philosopher, while we admire, in the Grecian writer, the enlarged understanding of an Athenian statesman. Thucydides neither attained, during his life, nor desired to attain, the fame of a popular historian; he wished rather to be studied, thoroughly, than to become of a sudden generally applauded, and wrote more for the few, than for the many. Therefore, he merely hints at what others would have explained;

he is often harsh and obscure, but the trouble of penetrating his sentiments is well repaid. Occasionally, we shall do well to remember, that he was related to the exiled family, the Pisistratidæ; that he had probably no particular attachment to popular government; and had, personally, reason to complain of the Athenian people. He had, besides, a certain propensity to contemplate things on the most unfavorable side, and yet, unfortunately, he appears seldom to err, in consequence. In him, we chiefly admire the statesman; in Herodotus, we esteem the enlightened and benevolent man.

CHAPTER IV.

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON, the amiable friend of Socrates, continued the Grecian history, from the period where the narrative of Thucydides terminates. In a short outline, he has preserved, to future times, the course of events, from the seafight near the Arginusæ, to the battle of Mantinea. We have also from him, a biographical memoir of the Spartan king Agesilaus, and an analysis of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian constitutions. The interesting account of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who assisted the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, accomplished under the generalship of Xenophon, is commonly held to be his own work.

His style is not less lively, and still more simple, than that of Herodotus. The only ornament of both is the refined moral feeling which pervades their writings. Xenophon affords an excellent model of perspicuity in narration. His piety and his love of justice so win the hearts of his readers, that they forgive him, when he puts his philosophy even into the mouths of barbarous chieftains, whose thoughts were never so perspicuously

arranged. His work was completed in advanced age, and some parts of it may therefore want the last polish ; the chapter on the Leuctrian battle is not entirely satisfactory. The good reception which he found at Lacedæmon, when the turbulent democracy of Athens had driven him into exile, gave him a particular attachment to the former commonwealth, which philosophers were generally inclined to regard with esteem. He related, unwillingly, the victory of the Bœotian Epaminondas over his beloved Lacedæmon. In accounting for this feeling, we must call to our remembrance, that, in the battle of Mantinea, Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, gave Epaminondas his mortal wound. Xenophon is a great and unequalled example, in his art ; few are capable of perceiving the whole merit of his admirable simplicity.

Between Xenophon and Polybius, an interval of more than two hundred years elapsed, in the course of which, some historians lived, who are worthy of regard, but not comparable to the three above mentioned, and whose works are not preserved. In the bosom of the restless Athenian republic, among a people, ungrateful to these three illustrious men, the art of history had attained a higher elevation than it held among their successors, who were rewarded by Alexander and the Ptolemies, and provided with an excellent library. The former were ennobled by the sentiment of freedom ; and impediments, when they do not, from their nature, depress, rather exalt, the powers of the mind. They were not anxious concerning the judgement of patrons, nor eager for immediate praise ; they sought to form, for themselves, the public taste, and hence, they still remain in possession of its applause.

CHAPTER V.

THE THEATRE.

THE dramatic poets also furnish sources of historical information, concerning Greece. Æschylus and Aristophanes make us acquainted with the modes of thinking and the manners, which prevailed at the two most remarkable epochs of Athens. The former portrays the heroic times, with uncommon felicity of description. Euripides, rather eloquent than learned in history, is less accurate, in this respect. He was a more philosophical writer than Sophocles, but did not display, as that poet has done, the knowledge and talents of a statesman. He has not painted the character of his own age in so striking and peculiar colors, and has written rather for all ages.

There scarcely exists a theatrical poem more worthy of attention, for its historical value, than the drama of 'The Persians,' which Æschylus exhibited, with great effect, soon after the battle of Salamis. The style of this composition is solemn and majestic, as is the manner of Æschylus, in general. He knew nothing of the interior of Persia, but describes the rites of polytheism, as prevailing there, though no ancient religion was more adverse to idolatry than the Persian. Like other Greeks, he mentions the government of Persia in such terms, that we perceive how foreign a limited monarchy was, to the ideas of his countrymen. In fact, the Asiatic monarchies were only known, as unlimited, since the middle power, where any such existed, did not exhibit itself in the external relations of the country.

It is impossible to make a more noble use of the most beautiful language of mankind, than Sophocles has done, or to unite dignity with grace, in a more masterly style. Euripides possessed a richer fund of

ideas, more art, eloquence, and philosophical genius ; but Sophocles was the greater poet.

It is astonishing to observe, in what terms *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, and particularly *Aristophanes*, speak of the chief deities of Greece, and how they treat the most powerful and popular statesmen. No man would dare, at the present time, to sport in this way with the most insignificant saint in the calendar ; nor could any of the meanest citizens be so held forth to ridicule. These equalizing liberties have the appearance of an innocent pastime ; but the veneration of the gods, and the good order of the state, were lessened by them. Nothing, which influences the character of men, is indifferent in a free constitution ; and public amusements particularly require the care and oversight of the magistrate.

CHAPTER VI.

ORATORS.

THE scholastic exercises which are ascribed to *Gorgias*, the first who held a school of rhetoric, and those which bear the names of *Antisthenes* and *Alcidamus*, are of no value. On the other hand, *Antiphon*, if he had not enjoyed the good fortune of being the instructor of *Thucydides*, would yet be important, as the author of a number of valuable treatises on the civil law of Athens. Still more attention is claimed by *Andocides*, especially when drawing the character of his opponent *Alcibiades*, who combined the most splendid qualities, with many which were worthy of strong reprobation. *Isæus* teaches us the law of inheritance of Attica.

Lysias, *Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes*, rise to a far higher level. The first possesses a charm, peculiar to himself. He is rich in information concerning those times, in which the falling dominion of Athens, under-

went its greatest conflicts; and his works contain a striking satire on such democracies. With the pleasing qualities of Lysias, Isocrates combined a more comprehensive mind, and he gives us more instruction concerning the general state of affairs in Greece, shortly before the ruin of its independence. His magnanimity and patriotism are tempered with gentleness and benevolence.

With a bolder pencil, the author of the *Philippics* has portrayed the crimes and follies of his age. We may say of Demosthenes, not that his chief merit consisted, like that of Lysias, in a peculiar fascination; or, like that of Isocrates, in a loftiness of mind, which inspires awe: but that he combined these and all other great and splendid qualities of the orator, in the most exalted degree. It is his character, to be always what he ought to be: in the great variety of circumstances, treated by him, he is never below expectation, never mean, never overstrained. As a patriot, Isocrates was not less admirable than his rival. We recognise, in his orations, the sentiments of the man, who, having almost attained his hundredth year, slew himself, when the tidings were brought to Athens, of the defeat of the Greeks at Chæronea. As a statesman, we may prefer Isocrates; since, knowing the incurable disease of his country, he endeavored to avoid the contest of corrupt and divided republics against the forces of Macedon, and sought to direct the attention of the king towards the conquest of Persia; but, in the orations of Demosthenes, we contemplate the interesting struggle of a citizen, who contended for expiring liberty, against an unworthy age. Corrupt as the republic was, yet its end affects us, like the death of an old and infirm friend. How instructive, to all citizens, is this example, since the evils which ruined Athens menace every free state.

It would lead us too far out of our way, to characterize Demades, Dinarchus, and Lycurgus; but Æschines appears a rival not unworthy of Demosthenes. The oration against Timarchus, who was accused of the

most flagitious vices, is valuable for the history of manners.

Concerning the letters of Phalaris, and other statesmen and philosophers, it suffices to observe, that, in themselves, they are agreeably written, but almost all spurious, or of very doubtful authenticity.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILOSOPHERS.

THE scanty writings of the wise men and women, who followed the principles of Pythagoras, exhibit this venerable school of morals in a point of view, which is gratifying to the heart; but there are three philosophers, whose works are chiefly interesting to the historian.

Plato contains not only many traits of manners, and much political information; he not only describes the mode of life, and the characters of the learned men, who flourished in the best days of literature; but he throws the most important light on the history of the human mind, by displaying how far the ideas and representations of a future state of existence had advanced towards purity and perfection among the ancients. No philosopher has proceeded further, in this path. Plato himself felt, that, in order to render us certain, it is needful that a God should remove the obstacles. In him, we find the source of many representations and customs which have passed into Christianity. Philo, the Jew, learned from him the allegorical manner of illustration; and the Fathers of the Church, more remarkable for imagination than for the command of correct language, and rather endowed with warm feelings than with sound judgement, celebrate the godlike, poetical, sublime, Plato, who communicates a fondness for the symbolical style and for mysterious representations.

As intellect differs from wit ; as a mature, coldly-reasoning man from a fiery youth ; so Aristotle is distinguished from Plato. What we possess, of his treatise on politics, contains excellent instructions, for our age ; much knowledge is preserved in some writings, which, with great impropriety, stand in the collection of his works : but Aristotle is principally remarkable, as the philosopher whose doctrine, often misunderstood, prevailed, during many centuries, in the Arabian and Christian schools. The sources of many errors, sanctioned by his name, are not to be found in his works, but in the commentaries, written by men who did not themselves understand him. We cannot find, in all antiquity, a philosopher of more comprehensive mind and profound reflection, a man of clearer and more correct judgement, or a more accurate writer ; and very few are to be met with, in the history of the world, who can be considered his superiors. His ethics are excellent, in their kind. Many observations, in his history of animals, which heretofore were scarcely held as probable, have been established by more recent discoveries.

Theophrastus, in his history of plants, has a greater degree of perspicuity and attractive grace, than his instructor, Aristotle. He is valuable for the information he affords concerning the products of the Greek and Asiatic soils.

CHAPTER VIII.

POETS.

ALTHOUGH the works, imputed to Orpheus, are the production of a much later age than his, yet the antique simplicity, which prevails in the Argonautic poem, loses but little of its fascination ; and this work is valuable, for determining the notions which prevailed concerning the North, about the time of the Persian war.

The beautiful odes of Anacreon are older than this

work : from them we learn, how much refinement luxurious pleasures had already attained in the age of Pisistratus. He does as much honor to the Greeks, as Homer ; for even barbarians have a sentiment of the magnificent, which they express, with peculiar force ; but Anacreon's elegant simplicity belongs to a people, whose sentiments had already expanded themselves, in the softest refinement.

The maxims of Theognis give an example of the most ancient form of handing down lessons of wisdom, when books were yet rare ; and they contribute to our acquaintance with human nature, as it existed in those days.

The fragments of Sappho, of Alcæus, and of Tyræus, give us the highest idea of the perfection of Grecian taste. As man is distinguished from the brutes by the power of speech, how exalted is the nation, which possessed a more perfect language than all others ! Pindar contains good materials for mythology and history ; but our chief admiration is excited by the lofty elevation of his soul, which, with a glance only given to him, penetrates the most secret relations of things, and, with thoughts pregnant with strong sense, overwhelms his astonished reader.

A work, ascribed to Demetrius of Phalera, directs our attention, with much taste, to the beauties of style of the poets and chief writers in prose. Even the works on music, collected by Meibomius, and Nicander's poem on poisons, contain traits of history. How many more are found in the writings of the Father of medicine, so rich in information concerning private life and the influence of climates ; and lastly, in the geographical works collected by Hudson ! In no department of knowledge have the sources been exhausted. Not one has fulfilled all its capabilities, or ever will fulfil them. Truth itself is in God. To seek it, is the allotment of man.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

REVOLUTIONS IN GREECE FROM THE AGE
OF SOLON

TO THE

CONQUESTS OF THE ROMANS IN ASIA.

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CHAPTER I.

PISISTRATUS.

SOLON was advanced in years, when Pisistratus, one of his relations, who was said to be descended from the house of Nestor, gained the ascendancy over a party in Athens, which had long been hostile to his family. Under the pretext that he found it necessary to make some extraordinary provision for his safety, he obtained a guard for his person, with the aid of which he made himself master of the Acropolis, the strongest district of the city. Thenceforward, nothing was done in Athens, without his permission. Pisistratus had the advantage of more extensive knowledge than the Greeks of that period, in general, possessed, combined with irresistible eloquence and conciliating manners. He used the power, thus unjustly acquired, with the greatest mildness, observing the laws of Solon; and Athens, under his sway, acquired allies and reputation, abroad.

Qualities, equally splendid, adorned his son Hipparchus; but a disgraceful passion occasioned him to commit an outrage against Harmodius and Aristogiton, in consequence of which he was assassinated by them, in the tumult attending the celebration of a great festival. His brother Hippias, informed of this event, strengthened his own power with greater vigilance, doubled his body-guard, and became rigorous in his administration. The Athenians, discontented with his tyranni-

cal suspicion, called in the aid of the Lacedæmonians ; and Cleomenes, king of Sparta, drove out the usurper Hippias, who sought refuge in the court of Persia.

CHAPTER II.

PERSIA.

THE monarchy of the Persians had acquired, not long before this era, an unexampled extent of power, in the countries of Western Asia. Cyrus, descended from an ancient family of Persian princes, had united several empires under his sway. Babylon, weakened by disturbances in the royal house, fell, during the silence of the night, as Daniel and Xenophon agree in relating, into the power of the Persians and Medes ; the last king, who had projected the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar's throne, having become a captive, at Larissa,* after his allies and vassal kings, as far as the Hellespont, had been subdued, by many victories. Cyrus governed his conquests with wisdom and moderation.

Cyrus is the prince whom the prophets of Israel celebrate. In order to lessen the too great population of the newly-conquered city, he sent back the Jews from Babylon, into their native country. It is probable that the Persians, who only adored one God, in primitive simplicity, without forms modelled by human hands, felt no enmity against the faith of the Israelites.

Cyrus appears to have fought unsuccessfully against the hordes who wandered over the region to the north-east of the Caspian sea. The story, of his falling in battle against the barbarians, was perhaps introduced, by mistake, into the life of this monarch, and belonged, originally, to the history of some other Cyrus. It is

* Is Larissa Resain ?

more probable that he died in an advanced age, by a death more worthy of him.

He incurred a censure, difficult to escape, in a life so full of active exploits, by neglecting to conduct, on proper principles, the education of his successor, Cambyses. This prince was corrupted by flattery. He had the thirst of conquest and the love of power; but reason and humanity had no influence over his passions. He conquered Egypt; yet the Egyptians persevered, for many centuries, contrary to his will, in their ancient customs, which were adapted to the nature of their country.

Cambyses having terminated a short reign by a violent death, the sovereignty, after an interval of tumult, and one or more rapid changes in the government, fell into the hands of Darius Hystaspes, a prince, whose wisdom and greatness were long revered in the memory of the Eastern nations. As long as Darius restrained himself within the natural boundaries of his empire, he reigned with undisturbed prosperity; but he sought, without success, to subdue the Scythians, whose vicinity occasioned him uneasiness, and who were protected by their lofty mountain plains. Yet the conquest of Thrace rewarded his arms, and Macedonia paid homage to the throne of Persia. It was in the court of this monarch that Hippias took refuge.

CHAPTER III.

THE PERSIAN WAR.

ABOUT the same period, some leaders of the Ionian states attempted to become independent of the Persian Satrap of Lydia. Cyrus had subdued these countries, but the Greeks, often unsuccessful in preserving their beloved freedom, were always eager to recover it, and they were, for the most part, more fortunate in this en-

deavor, which chiefly depended on valor, than in the maintenance of their liberty, which demanded rather sound understanding than brilliant talents, and required men of far more sedate character than the Greeks. In this instance, the Ionian cities were supported by Athens, whose colonies they were, with that love for the cause of liberty, which animated both parties. The King, in consequence, gave a more willing ear to Hippias.

[B.C. 490.] At length, Darius sent his generals, Datis and Artaphernes, with the first of those prodigious armies with which the East has often, from that time, overwhelmed the west of Asia and the European countries. In these enterprises, every district sent its contingent of men and the sustenance needful for them, and the expeditions were of short duration. The Athenians, under Miltiades, without any other succor than one thousand Platæans, exhibited, in the plains of Marathon, to the astonished Satrap, the resources which heroic valor and military skill afford to a free people, for protecting all that they hold most dear, against perpetual slavery. The hosts of the great King were driven before the armed townsmen of Athens, and took refuge in their ships. It is impossible to say how many thousands were engaged, but what is most important to remark, is, the power of man over the gifts of fortune, the exemplification of which constitutes the chief interest in the history of all such exploits.

The Greeks omitted to follow up their victory; but Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, in order to avenge the ignominy of the Persian arms, drew together a host of combatants, in such numbers, as were scarcely ever since assembled, until the time of the Crusades, or of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane.

[B.C. 480.] At this time, Themistocles lived in Athens, who, when yet a youth, had passed sleepless nights, from envy of the trophies of Marathon. He was a man of great genius, uncommon presence of

mind, and as eminent, for finding resources, in times of sudden emergency, as for sagacity, in foreseeing contingencies; alike capable of turning to advantage the plans of others, and of setting forth his own in the most persuasive terms; in short, one of the greatest men who ever governed a state. By his advice, the Athenians had built ships; for Themistocles rightly judged, that the great King would not forget his defeat at Marathon. He knew the advantages to be obtained by approaching distant coasts by means of powerful fleets, and every where conciliating friendship or inspiring terror. The naval power of Athens was his hope and consolation. Argos, terrified by Xerxes, had concluded a treaty of neutrality. Doubts were entertained concerning the Thebans; and that party soon prevailing among them, who held for certain the victory of the most powerful, Thebes declared for the Persians. The Peloponnesians were contented with the defence of their own borders; and the Lacedæmonians, alone, with some of their dependants, had occupied and held possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, which was the key of Greece. During the general consternation, the god of Delphi returned this answer to the Athenian people: "All is lost. I behold the flaming temple; the gods of Athens tremble. Pallas in vain supplicates her father; behind your wooden walls, the Sire of gods and men will protect you." Themistocles, who, without doubt, had contrived the answer, persuaded the people that it alluded to the ships. In these, the citizens of all ages, who were able to bear arms, immediately embarked, while the women and children took refuge in the Peloponnesian towns. The Persians crossed the Hellespont, made a slow and laborious progress through the obedient provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, and through Thessaly, which offered no resistance, towards the pass of Thermopylæ.

Leonidas, the Lacedæmonian king, arrested, for a time, the progress of the Persians, and at length sent away all, who were not Spartans, in order that each

might defend his native town, and be ready, in other dangers of his country. For himself, he considered that a longer resistance of the enemy, while Greece prepared herself for the conflict, and the example of an heroic sacrifice, would be the greatest service he could bestow upon the land of his fathers. He disdained the few years of life which yet remained to him, and resolved to gain immortality in the memory of all great men who should, by similar necessities, be reminded of his fate. When he learned that the Persians had discovered a foot-path, by means of which they had ascended the height above him, he performed sacrifice, adorned with his royal vestments, to the gods of Lacedæmon, supped with his four hundred warriors, clothed in their best attire, and rushed upon the hosts of the Persians. Four times he pursued the flying enemy, but was at length overpowered, by numbers. Leonidas fell, with his four hundred companions, and merited the inscription that was placed upon his tomb: "Stranger, go and relate at Lacedæmon, that we all fell, here, in obedience to the laws of our country."*

[B. C. 479.] Afterwards, Themistocles proved, on the waves of Salamis, what a small number of well-commanded ships can effect, against a vast and ill-governed armament. The Persian fleet met with a fate similar to that which, two thousand years later, befel the invincible armada of Philip:† a poet and an historian were only wanting to England, equal to Æschylus and Herodotus who celebrated the fight of Salamis.

The great King, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, hastened to Susa, and abandoned himself to voluptuous pleasures. His kinsman, Mardonius, the chief mover of the war, lost, in his retreat upon Platæa, on

* This inscription was placed on the tomb, raised over the Spartans, after the decisive victory of the Greeks, at Platæa. The following are the words of it, as given by Herodotus :

”Ω ξεῖν’, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κεῖμεθα, τοῖς κεινων ὀψύμασι πειθόμενοι.—T.

† Philip the Second, King of Spain, A. D. 1588.

the banks of Asopus, his life, and a decisive battle, in which Pausanias, tutor of one of the Spartan kings, directed the conflict, and displayed great valor and eminent skill in the art of war.

The Greeks followed the enemy to the Asiatic coasts, gained a victory at Mycale, under Cimon, and liberated the Ionian states and the islands of the Grecian Sea.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

LIBERTY seems, to nations who enjoy it, so great a blessing, and they are so jealous of its possession, that they generally refuse a share of it to states less powerful than themselves, and to their own dependants. The Greeks of the European continent imposed on Ionia and the islands, a yoke, which was more invidious and not less oppressive than that of the Persians.

[B. C. 477—404.] The conqueror of Plataea gave the example of ambition; and, if his projects had not been discovered, he would have overturned the constitution of Lacedæmon. This danger rendered the Lacedæmonians, who had neither fleet nor revenues in money, anxious for the maintenance of their laws; and they preferred founding these, securely, on the basis of poverty and rustic simplicity, to the acquisition of a new sovereignty over Greece. At this conjuncture, the Athenians, less moderate in their desires, who possessed a considerable fleet, obtained the chief command over all the Grecian states, which had any thing to apprehend from Persia. They formed a confederacy of republics, with a common treasury, and held stated assemblies, to consult on the general affairs, and to fix the contingent of ships, which each city was bound to furnish. But the Athenians received the money that was apportioned, and provided for the equipment of

the fleet. Thus, they alone became powerful, by sea, and rendered the confederates tributary. Wars were excited, in consequence of this usurpation; but the power had already passed into the hands of the Athenians. The Peloponnesus, in the mean time, adhered to Lacedæmon.

The Athenian yoke pressed hard upon the islands; for, when the people stood in need of money, the orators found pretences for condemning the weak allies or rich citizens to heavy fines, and the latter took their redress on the islanders. The Athenian Admiral sailed annually round the Archipelago, like the Capudan Pasha, in the present day, to receive the tributes, and survey the general posture of affairs; and only the shadow and name of liberty remained.

The innocent manners of the rustic people, of earlier times, were lost in the licentious turbulence of an assembly, consisting of artisans and sailors. The restless jealousy of a people who felt no respect for their illustrious men, and the arts of demagogues, who feared the preponderance of noble qualities, spared neither the lives nor fortunes of the heroes, to whom Greece was indebted for her liberty and glory. It was only allowed in times of evident emergency to display great and splendid talents. Miltiades died in prison, because the people, who, in the field of Marathon, owed to him their existence, had unjustly loaded him with a heavy fine, which he was unable to pay; and it was of no avail to Aristides, to be distinguished by the title of the Just, or to Cimon, that he was as gentle and benevolent as he was great. Themistocles, when the country which he had saved drove him into exile, was indebted to the son of Xerxes for the tranquillity of his last days. Herodotus, the historian, found it necessary to seek an asylum in Italy, with the colony that was sent to Thurium; and Cleon's jealousy, against men of virtue and talent, drove Thucydides into banishment. The gentle Xenophon had been exiled, before the malice of calumniators destroyed, in prison, his instructor Socrates,

whom the Delphian god had pronounced to be the wisest of the Greeks. The ingratitude of Athens survived, after her sovereignty had fallen. Conon rebuilt the walls of the city, and his son, Timotheus, terminated a long, meritorious life, in extreme want. Iphicrates and Chabrias would have found no better fate, if they had not, for the most part, withdrawn themselves from the eyes of the people. When, after the fall of her dominion, Athens lost her independence, she appeared to preserve freedom in internal government, only to condemn to death Phocion, the type of ancient virtue, in the eighty-fourth year of his life; and to force the wise Demetrius of Phalera, in whose honor three hundred columns had been erected, to seek security in the Egyptian court. We will not follow the display of this character, through all ages. The last deed of the Athenians, which is known, before they entirely fell under the Turkish power, was an act of ingratitude towards a meritorious citizen, the father of the historian, Chalcondylas.

The moderate democracy of Athens was ruined by the project of domineering over Greece, which could not be attempted, without a multitude of mariners, and greater expenditure than the ordinary revenues afforded. The means to which the Athenians had recourse, in order to attract a multitude of people, were an equality without bounds, joined to excessive licentiousness and splendid luxury.

CHAPTER V.

PERICLES.

[B. C. 468—428.] As long as Pericles lived, he knew how to restrain the increase of anarchy, by the principles of a great magistrate who rules over the multitude, for their own good. Sprung from one of the

most noble families, formed by the most exalted philosophy, possessing an irresistible eloquence, rather by the innate power of his genius than by study or imitation, he held, during forty years, the chief honors of the state, and governed the popular assembly with such commanding dignity, that his life deserves to be the study of all those who devote themselves to the public duties of a commonwealth. He was reproached for making use of corruption. It was to be lamented, that he had to do with people and with a constitution, in which the public good rendered such measures necessary; but it is certain, that the democracy, during his time, was less oppressive towards the confederacy than it afterwards became. Under him, Athens attained to the highest degree of opulence and power; under him, she inspired respect rather than terror; he sought rather to gain the affections of the Greeks than to subject them to a yoke. The main foundation of his overbearing ascendancy was, the severity of his manners, his personal virtue, and the dignity with which he addressed the people. He never flattered, or suffered himself to be governed by, the people, but inspired them with confidence, in misfortunes, and rebuked their insolence, in prosperity. This great man, who possessed the most refined taste of his age, gave to the arts and sciences, by his protection and favor, a degree of splendor which they had never before attained, and have, since his time, seldom imitated.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

[B. C. 431—404.] IT is true, that the Peloponnesian war, which Pericles, towards the end of his life, advised, was ruinous to Athens; but the jealousy between this city and Lacedæmon had gone so far, that a war

was unavoidable. If Pericles had counselled the Athenians to submit, they would have lost their ascendancy, and perhaps their confidence in themselves, and yet would not have been suffered to remain in peace. It can only have been in irony, that he was accused of wishing to occupy the minds of the Athenians, that they might not have leisure to observe how lavishly he had expended the public money, in erecting the temple of Pallas, the glory of Grecian architecture. Yet Pericles may have found some great enterprise necessary, for maintaining internal peace; because, while they continued in action, the people were obliged to leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of the most able men.

The greatest calamity of Athens was the plague, which broke out in the second year of the twenty-seven years' war, and destroyed Pericles. No man appeared after him, who possessed his excellences, in all respects, and was capable of inheriting his authority. Men of splendid qualities, and particularly, eloquent orators, sought to build, upon popular favor, what he had drawn forth from the resources of his mind. The popular assembly was now to be flattered into acquiescence, for there was no longer a hand capable of guiding their decisions and imposing respect. The people believed that they held the sovereignty, while they were, in reality, a sport to the passions of intriguing demagogues. One of these was Alcibiades, a pupil of Pericles, who was distinguished, not only among his own countrymen, but in all the nations among whom he successively resided. He possessed the most insinuating eloquence, which made its way to the hearts of men with greater facility, as it was aided by extraordinary personal beauty, by the graces of his genius, the magnificence of his manners, and the vast resources of his mind. At the same time, Alcibiades was an able general, an accomplished statesman, and fitted, even in the smallest affairs, to attract love and admiration. His most distinguishing quality was, a peculiar facility of speedily conciliating all nations and individuals, by completely

penetrating into their habits of mind and modes of acting. As a citizen, he was dangerous, since he had more adroitness than perseverance, and allowed every indulgence to his passions.

The Peloponnesian war, which Pericles advised the Athenians to protract, because he foresaw that the moderate resources of the Lacedæmonians would exhaust themselves, was interrupted by a cessation of hostilities, during which, Alcibiades incited the people to undertake an expedition into Sicily.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SICILIAN WAR.

[B. C. 413—410.] A SURPRISING number of great, magnificent, and opulent, cities, adorned the island of Sicily. Nearly all of them were democracies, and some, particularly Syracuse, the most powerful, often fell under the tyranny of ambitious individuals. Such persons, having, by splendid exploits, or by depressing the ancient families and the regular magistrates, brought the people over to their side, and having acquired popularity, contrived, under some pretext, to obtain a guard; thenceforward, they found the means of appropriating to their own purposes a great portion of the envied wealth of the principal citizens, and, before their designs were anticipated, became tyrants; that is, according to the old sense of the term, masters of the city, and particularly of the citadel.

[B. C. 479.] Thus, Gelon, during a time of great commotion, had acquired the tyranny of Syracuse. He liberated the city from the yoke of Carthage, and governed with paternal mildness; but virtues are dangerous, in the founder of an unjust dominion, because they afford his successor resources for governing by contrary maxims. Syracuse became again free; the

tyranny acquired no consistency ; but the people knew not how to use with moderation their newly-attained liberty. [B. C. 469.] In domestic affairs, they acquiesced in the laws, but in matters of the greatest moment, they had no principles of action. Instead of securing the happiness of Sicily, Syracuse excited factious discontents, and gave occasion to foreign interference. At length, deputies from the smaller towns invited the Athenians to their aid.

The majority of the people in Athens had no idea of Sicily, but listened to the account given them by Alcibiades, who was well informed. The latter, eager for fame, and full of the feeling of his innate powers, thought the resources of the republic sufficient for conducting this war. It seemed to him, that such a conquest must naturally give his nation the preponderance over its enemies in the Peloponnesus, and over the barbarians, not only of Persia, but of Africa. If the Attic government had been better administered, a power comparable to that of Rome or Carthage might have been founded. But scarcely had Alcibiades set sail with Nicias and Lamachus, at the head of the finest fleet which had hitherto appeared on the Ægean sea, when a combination was formed against him, at Athens, by all those who were jealous of his fame, and who feared him, for the cause of liberty or for themselves, and by many who had to complain of his youthful licentiousness and imprudence. He was publicly accused of sacrilege. Even the Athenians, who, in their comic theatre, laughed at all their gods, recalled, on this accusation, their best general, from the greatest enterprise that any Grecian people had ever undertaken. Alcibiades took refuge in Lacedæmon ; Nicias was a man of sound understanding and good morals, and the richest of the Athenians ; but he had not the great capacity and energetic spirit which were necessary, in order to reduce, under his power, a city like Syracuse, the resources of which seemed to increase with its dangers ; Lamachus died, and Demosthenes, his suc-

cessor, was accustomed only to petty warfare. A better formed plan was required, and forces were deficient, although Athens had sent, by degrees, to Sicily, forty thousand men. The event was, that all perished or were taken prisoners, and the Athenians, defeated every where, lost, at once, in a single catastrophe, their armies and their fleets. [B.C.410.] This calamity, important in the history of the art of war, has been ably described by Thucydides, in its most melancholy circumstances.

When the tidings of this misfortune arrived in the port of Athens, the people, for a long time, gave no credit to it. When it was at length confirmed, by eyewitnesses, the rage of the multitude turned itself upon the orators, the priests, and the oracles, by which they had been misled. The whole of their cavalry was destroyed ; they had no heavy-armed infantry, no ships on the stocks, no money in their treasury ; they had to look forward to the rebellion of their subjects, to the desertion of their allies, to the appearance of the enemy before the city and in the haven, and to anticipate the utmost peril, even for their independence. The Athenians, great in misfortune, came to the resolution of resisting ; and confided all authority in the state to a council, consisting of the most experienced men.

CHAPTER VIII.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN SOVEREIGNTY.

THE Lacedæmonians, led by Alcibiades, invaded Attica, and seized upon Decelia, whence they molested the whole territory. The defection of the allies became no longer doubtful ; but Athens, powerful in herself, when necessity armed all her citizens, held out till the seventh year.

At length, internal factions impaired the strength of

the state; popular orators excited the jealousy of the multitude; suspicions and assassinations impeded and disgraced the government. Alcibiades, who had now been recalled, and had rendered essential services to his country, was a second time driven into banishment, with several able generals, while others were put to death. After this act of folly, the unskilfulness and imprudence of the commander of the Athenian fleet, stationed in the river *Ægos*, who was in vain admonished by Alcibiades, afforded a victory to Lysander, the Lacedæmonian General, by which the last resource of Athens, her fleet, was a second time destroyed. [B. C. 404.]

Then the enemy appeared in the Piræus. The people made a courageous resistance; and it was only the extremity of famine, that forced Athens to demand peace of Lacedæmon. The Lacedæmonians held a council of all the confederates, who, under their conduct, had destroyed the power of Attica. On this occasion, the Bœotians and Corinthians insisted that the city should be burnt, and all the people sold into slavery. The Lacedæmonians, at the glorious termination of the twenty-seven years' war which they had carried on against Athens, resolved, that they never would suffer a city to be destroyed, by the hands of Greeks, which had acted so noble a part, in the defence of their common country against the hosts of Persia. They took care that Athens should never have it in her power to display preeminence among the Grecian states, in opposition to themselves. Of that naval power, which had domineered over the *Ægean* sea, not more than twelve ships were left to the Athenians, and the long walls between the haven and the city were broken down. In the seventy-fifth year after the battle of Salamis, the sovereignty of Athens received this calamitous termination. But the intermediate times had done much towards awakening the genius of the Attic people, and the love of the sciences and fine arts, which had sprung up among

them, afforded them the foundation of a lasting fame. In no city were the festivals and theatrical entertainments so magnificent and various; their manners were the most polished, and the enjoyments of life among them the most multiplied and the most refined. Commerce flourished in Athens, and strangers, eager for knowledge, flocked thither, in crowds. This city was the Paris of the ancient world, if we take Paris in its best times. A correct taste was diffused among all classes of the people, resulting from the intercourse of illustrious statesmen and philosophers, and the high refinement which the Grecian language had attained. The public walks of Athens, the groves of the Lyceum and of the Academy, were the seats of a more secure and more glorious empire, than the fate of arms can bestow or take away.

Literature had attained the greatest splendor, since the time of Socrates, who first knew and acknowledged that man has no insight into the nature of things, and that the sum of all wisdom is the knowledge of ourselves. Thenceforth, the highest value was placed on the forming of manners, and on the refinement of the human character; and the supreme happiness, or sovereign good, was pursued by philosophers, in various paths, which, however, are only different in name. In the gardens of Epicurus, it was sought in a tranquil and pleasant life; in the hall of Zeno, happiness was said to consist in the consciousness of virtue, which is, in reality, the highest degree of tranquillity; while Diogenes placed it in restraining our desires and wants. We would here simply remark, that the victory at Ægos destroyed only the dominion, and not the greatness, of Athens. Fortune and arms have not all things under their sway; and an enlightened nation, which does not forget itself, secures a dignity which is independent of the vicissitudes of events.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LACEDÆMON.

[B. C. 404—370.] AFTER the humiliation of Athens, the Spartans resolved to restore liberty to the Grecian states on the coast of Asia. Lysander and the other generals forwarded this undertaking, in which there was much to gain, and which afforded them a long respite from the severe pressure of their domestic laws. Too late, the King of Persia perceived that he had erred, in not maintaining a balance of power between Athens and Lacedæmon. The Greeks were now so much the more dangerous, as many young men had grown up, during the long Peloponnesian war, who were acquainted only with arms, and who were the first soldiers, properly so called, as they followed warfare for hire. Ten thousand of these mercenaries shook the throne of the second Artaxerxes; and, after his brother, in whose service they fought, had fallen in battle, formed the bold attempt of forcing their way back to their country, through the midst of Asia, and at the distance of thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty furlongs.* And, though they were in the greatest want of provisions, pursued by the best generals of the King, through roads often scarcely passable, and treated as enemies, by a multitude of Asiatic nations, they completed their enterprise, under the conduct of Xenophon. [B. C. 400.]

Soon after this expedition, Agesilaus, a true Lacedæmonian, obedient to the laws of his country, and terrible to its enemies, carried the war, with great success, into the interior provinces. [B. C. 394.]

He showed the Greeks, how easily a throne, powerful, in appearance, but whose foundations were under-

* Thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty stadia, [equal to about four thousand three hundred and twenty English miles.]

mined, might be overthrown. Artaxerxes protected himself by great sums of gold ; by means of which he excited internal commotions in Greece, and obliged the Spartans to recall Agesilaus. In this war, the Spartan fleet was defeated, on the sea of Cnidos, by the Athenian, Conon, who served in the cause of Persia.

[B. C. 392.] The same Conon rebuilt the long walls of Athens. Thrasybulus had destroyed the oligarchy of the thirty tyrants, introduced by Lacedæmon, and, declaring a general amnesty, had restored the democratical government, which, for some time, was conducted with moderation. After this revolution, Athens appeared too strong, to suffer herself to be insulted, but not powerful enough, to renew her schemes of ambition.

While affairs were in this situation, the King mediated the peace, which bore the name of its chief negotiator, Antalcidas, and which, by authorizing a foreign interference with her internal relations, was dishonorable to the liberty of Greece.

Corruption daily attained a more pernicious prevalence. When demagogues had overturned the authority of civil magistrates, the respect for age and paternal authority were lost ; the growing licentiousness found the laws intolerable, and their power and stability were continually invaded ; the impatience of restraint and the impetuosity of the passions brought religion into contempt ; the most sacred oaths no longer availed, to hold levity and perfidy in check ; and, in the ruin of morals, the constitution of Sparta was overwhelmed. The great men of Lacedæmon, far from their ephori, bearing foreign commands by sea and land, or as governors of confederate cities, became acquainted with luxury and riches, and found the life of Lycurgus no longer to be endured.

CHAPTER X.

DECLINE OF THE SPARTAN SOVEREIGNTY.

DURING this general corruption of manners, Epaminondas arose at Thebes, in Bœotia, who, though inaccessible to the bribes and promises of the Persians, rendered them a greater service than those who had accepted their splendid offers. By him, the power of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and his own country, Bœotia, was invested with the predominant authority in Greece, which it was able to maintain only during the life of Epaminondas.

Thebes lay in a fruitful plain, at the foot of Mount Cithæron. Bœotia was a federal republic, in which, eleven Bœotarchs, chosen by all the districts, had the chief management of affairs, but were not allowed to perform any public act, without the consent of the four chief cities. Thebes was the greatest of these, and excited the jealousy of all the rest.

[B. C. 378.] In the confidence of peace, a Lacedæmonian general, by a bold stratagem, had gained possession of the Theban citadel. This attempt was declared unjust, at Sparta; and, had it not been for the friendship which the son of Agesilaus bore for his son, the author of the crime must have forfeited his life.

But it was agreed to keep a garrison in the fortress, and the most resolute of the citizens were exiled from Thebes. The latter, led by Pelopidas, had the good fortune, by a well-devised and rapidly-executed enterprise, to deliver their country from Archias, who entertained no suspicion of such a project; and, from that time, the Bœotians sought to destroy the abused power of the Lacedæmonians.

[B. C. 370.] They would not have attained this object, by the numerical force of their armies; but

Epaminondas, at the battle of Leuctra, availed himself, for the first time, of the oblique order, that masterpiece of military tactics, the secret of which consists in keeping a portion of the army in reserve, until the enemy's forces shall stand in a situation, in which it may become possible to fall upon them in flank, and thus to destroy their presence of mind, and the consistency of their lines. Thus, superiority of numbers no longer avails, and the enemy loses the advantage of acting decisively with his best troops. If the general should foresee this blow, he would hold himself in readiness, or anticipate it; and it therefore becomes necessary, that all the arrangements for it should be made secretly, which can only be effected by extraordinary skill in military evolutions. This stratagem, accordingly, is only practicable to the general who commands the best troops; but to him, it gives a decisive superiority. The great Theban commander availed himself of it, in the victorious fields of Leuctra and Mantinæa; and, by the same means, Philip and Alexander, with inferior forces, conquered Greece and Asia. It decided in favor of Cæsar, the battle of Pharsalia; and to it Frederick the Great was indebted for the laurel of Hohenfriedburg, and for many other glorious achievements.

At Leuctra, fell the flower of the Lacedæmonian youth, the half of the citizens of Sparta; and the sovereignty of Greece, the prize of the Peloponnesian war, was irrecoverably lost. The Bœotians, who before had scarcely ventured to come within sight of the Lacedæmonians, followed their victory into the streets of Sparta.

[B. C. 369.] In this extreme necessity of Lacedæmon, the Athenians were not unmindful of the noble conduct of their ancient enemy, and they armed themselves in her support. But a second victory, at Mantinæa, established the fame of Epaminondas, and completed the ruin of the Spartan power. The Theban General finished his career by an heroic death.

[B. C. 362.] On that account, this day was calam-

itous, even to those whom it crowned with victory. The Bœotians, as if they had been beaten, remained motionless, with astonishment, on the field, and the enemy, as if pursued by the mighty shade of the fallen hero, betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

No general ever before arranged the order of battle on principles so scientific, or carried the art of war to such perfection. Epaminondas was, moreover, a noble and virtuous citizen ; magnanimous towards his ungrateful country, modest and mild in character, warm in friendship, a lover of philosophy, and a most accomplished man.

CHAPTER XI.

RUIN OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

THE death of Epaminondas was an irreparable misfortune, for the Greeks ; for there remained not, in any of the states, a citizen, capable of uniting the divided republics, by the preeminence of his moral powers.

[B. C. 361.] With Epaminondas, the influence of Bœotia was extinguished. Agesilaus, the last hero of Sparta, died soon after him ; and scarcely had Xenophon completed his panegyric on the latter, when he concluded his own long and illustrious career, [B. C. 359.] The maritime power of Athens had sunk, forty years before, into insignificance ; and the best Grecian armies had suffered, in the last battles, an irrecoverable loss.

The multitude of those persons increased, who, born, as it were, in the field, and formed only to arms, wandered about, in quest of adventures ; and, being strangers to social order and the arts of peace, sought only for commanders who would furnish them a regular stipend, and give them a share of plunder. In early times, the citizens fought for the rights or the usurpa-

tions of their country ; the armies of the great king were contingents of militia, from each province ; but, at this period, the condition of the world was changed by a soldiery, whose regular trade was warfare. This was anticipated by Jason of Pheræ, a Thessalian chief, who engaged a considerable number of mercenaries in his service, and formed the project of possessing himself, by their aid, of the wealth of Asia ; but a premature death prevented its completion.

Philip, son of Amyntas, having, after many disturbances in Macedonia, ascended his paternal throne, adopted this plan of waging war, and pursued it to a still greater extent. But the cause which chiefly contributed to give a new condition to all the countries, between the Adriatic sea and the furthest Indies, was the military education which Philip had received under the precepts of Epāminondas, while he resided, during the calamities of his house, as a hostage at Thebes. With the knowledge which the ingenuous spirit of the royal youth eagerly imbibed, from this great man, he combined what the latter wanted ; namely, the power of a monarch and the boldness of an enterprising conqueror, to whom all means are indifferent, which conduct him to the object of his desire. Philip had, besides, pleasing manners and apparent gentleness, by which he engaged the affections of the soldiers, and deceived the people. He was addicted to conviviality, and to pleasures of all kinds ; and was therefore the less dreaded.

In Athens, lived the orator, Demosthenes, whom Nature seems to have bestowed upon the Greeks, in order to foretell all the calamities with which their neglect of the common good, and corruption of their principles and manners, could not fail to overwhelm them. They heard him, as the Trojans heard the soothsayings of Cassandra. While Philip was forming his phalanx, improving his revenues, increasing his armies, gaining dependants, sowing dissensions, preparing fetters for all Greece, the Athenians refused to believe that there was any thing to fear. Many celebrated his equity, and the

gentleness of his manners ; they dreaded the exertions and the sacrifices which would be required, for a serious opposition. The generals, from the fear of responsibility, were unwilling to undertake enterprises ; they sought to prolong wars, that they might lengthen the period of their command, and acquire the greater gains ; they contented themselves with the mere appearance of action ; and, when they had done enough to save themselves from open ignominy, spared their troops, which were too expensive and difficult to replace ; they watched, with particular care, over their own lives, having no belief in a future state, or regard for posthumous fame. Thus, all the military enterprises of the Greeks, at this period, were conducted without vigor, as they were undertaken without any connected plan. Philip, on the contrary, infused into his army one common sentiment which sprang from his own breast, and incited them to the project which was the mainspring of all his actions.

After Philip had exercised his arms, in subduing the barbarous people in the vicinity of his own country ; after he had conquered Thrace, as far as the Bosphorus and the Hellespont ; gained possession of Thessaly ; divided, deceived, and subdued, Phocis ; acquired, to the astonishment of all Greece, a seat in the Amphictyonic council, as avenger of the Delphic god ; and filled every place, from Byzantium to the Peloponnesus, with the terror of his arms, and, at the same time, with the reputation of his mildness and generosity, his good faith and patriotism ; Athens, at length, took arms, in the cause of expiring freedom. To this resolve the Bœotians gave occasion, who, after many years, had become, at length, aware, that the King bore them no good intentions.

[B. C. 337.] The decisive battle was fought in the field of Chæronea. The Athenians and their allies, particularly the Theban body, called the Troop of Lovers, fought in a manner worthy of the last contest in defence of ancient liberty. They were defeated. The

Theban band, four hundred in number, inseparable in death, fell together, loaded with glorious wounds, and the liberty of Greece expired with them.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY.

PHILIP was anxious, by some great exploit, in harmony with the national feeling, to keep his army employed, and prevent the Greeks from reflecting on their calamity. He resolved to avenge the gods, formerly insulted by Xerxes, and to inflict punishments on the successors of his throne for the contumelies he had offered to the Greeks. In the midst of these preparations, the King was assassinated, by a young man, in revenge for an injury inflicted on him.

[B. C. 335.] His son, Alexander, was twenty years of age, when, by the destruction of Thebes, which had rebelled, he deprived the Greeks of the hope of reestablishing their independence. He then marched from Pella, and overran Asia, as far as the Ganges.

Since the spirit of conquest had been extinguished in the Persian kings, the salutary institutions of that country had been neglected. The house of the first Darius had been extirpated, by a revengeful eunuch. Darius Codomanus was by no means a base or unworthy prince; but was defective in that military skill, which was necessary, in order to contend with the Macedonians. Asia was indifferent, concerning the name of her master; and, after a third battle, and the death of the king, Persia fell prostrate before the conqueror.

CHAPTER XIII.

ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

[B. C. 330.] IT is not improbable that Alexander wished to unite all the conquered nations, by the mixture of races and colonies, into one Grecian empire; to raise them to the same degree of civilization; and, by the common rites of religion and the connexions of commerce, to accustom Europeans and Asiatics to look upon each other as fellow-subjects. A scheme of this kind was found among his papers; and, as the first project of an enterprise, the almost insuperable difficulties of which had not yet been brought to light by experiment, it may well have appeared practicable to this ambitious youth. Perhaps his object was, a great republican confederacy, under one chief magistrate. As a pupil of the philosopher, Aristotle, Alexander had, more than all other conquerors, the inclination and the ability for prescribing laws to the world.

But, scarcely had the hero finished the labor of his distant conquests, and enjoyed the repose of a few days, at Babylon, when he perished, by poison or by intemperance, having scarcely completed his thirty-second year. His children being yet infants, his chief generals provided each for himself, and only thought of conciliating the greedy soldiery. His family fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his servants, who, for themselves, obtained no other boon than a life of perpetual alarms, and a violent death.

CHAPTER XIV.

REFLECTIONS.

DURING this and the succeeding age, military talents alone displayed themselves. They enabled the common

soldiers, by valor and profusion, to gain the sovereign power, in various countries, and force the people to pay for their own subjugation. The character of men and of nations became different from that of former ages, and history assumes a gloomy and unpleasing aspect; men appear no longer on the stage, and we only hear of troops who are victorious, in proportion as they become mere machines.

The Greek democracies had no regular organization; the people no principle, which might enable them to rise again, after a temporary depression. This nation was too rich in ideas, to proceed by system; passions and factious contests guided its movements. Most of the Swiss constitutions are equally unsystematical, but the people are tranquil and sedate; while among the Greeks, every individual chose to be a ruler, and no man was willing to obey. Party-spirit confounded all moral feeling; and criminal audacity was looked upon as the courage of those, who dare every thing for their comrades in arms; perjury and falsehood were regarded as mere sport of words; and cities, formerly celebrated for virtue, in the prevalence of license and disorder, surpassed even the crimes of tyrants. The citizens of the middle class were the most unfortunate; they attracted envy and hatred, while the bold and flagitious alone prospered. The characters of men lost their distinctions, and the Lacedemonians became greedy of gold.

In Persia, under kings who confided in the massive strength of their empire, those exercises, by which Cyrus had given superiority to his army, had been neglected, during the repose of a long peace, and the names alone remained. When the chief officers had once seated themselves at the banqueting table, it was their custom not to rise from it until night. During their expeditions, in the king's service, they still took repose only once in the day. But their journeys were very short; and, though the young men were educated, as formerly, in the courts, to learn the forms of business,

their chief attention was directed to the sums of gold, which were necessary for corrupting the judges. The people were oppressed with new impositions, while the court was disorderly and expensive, the favorites insatiable, and the satraps shamefully avaricious. In the distribution of public trusts, less attention was paid to the duties to be performed, than the wants of the favored applicant ; and the menials, cooks, and panders, of the great, filled all the inferior offices. The chief strength of the army consisted in Greek mercenaries, without whose aid, the great king would not have been able to maintain, until the time of Alexander, the dominion of indignant Asia. The commanders of such troops seated themselves, after the death of the Macedonian conqueror, on the throne of Darius and the old monarchs, and very soon glided, insensibly, into the manners of the people whom they had subdued. New victories were thus gradually prepared, for a nation who resembled their European ancestors.

CHAPTER XV.

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, AND THE FATE OF GREECE.

FOR a few years, a shadow of power remained to the house of Alexander, in Macedonia. The vicegerent, Antipater, and his son, Cassander, held the government, and effected whatever their passions excited them to attempt. Greece was held in subjection, by policy, the armies being occupied elsewhere ; and the republics bore the character, not of subjects, but of weak allies of a powerful neighbor. Athens suffered the most numerous commotions ; many illustrious citizens fell, or were exiled, before the state sunk into political insignificance, and rendered itself contemptible, by excessive adulation towards the great. Lacedæmon, exhausted by its exertions, maintained the institutions

of Lycurgus. It still had good generals, in the number of its kings, and patriots, among its people; but the corrupt party gained the ascendancy by number, and Lacedæmon, whose citizens had formerly been its walls, was fortified like other towns. Its institutions were lost, and usurpers gained the sovereignty.

[B. C. 280.] About the same time, twelve cities in Achaia, the northern district of the Peloponnesus, for the most part little towns, and otherwise of no consideration, united themselves in one confederacy, which became respectable, by its equity and moderation. Peace and independence were the objects of this alliance. The states held an annual assembly, at Ægium, elected a prætor, treasurer, and secretary, and passed general decrees, with respect to wars and treaties. They lent each other reciprocal aid, against the enterprises of ambition, and received into their league the Arcadian Megalopolis, and the great cities of Sicyon and Corinth, which had expelled their tyrants, and were desirous of enjoying security and freedom, without injuring their neighbors. From Megalopolis, the city in which Epaminondas had collected the scattered Arcadians, sprang the last Grecian hero, who was worthy to appear by the side of Themistocles and the conqueror of Leuctra; this was Philopœmen, the Achaian General. It is true, that he abolished the forms of Lycurgus, at Lacedæmon; but this he did, because the people, no longer restrained, by those institutions, within the bounds of temperance, was rendered by them more restless and impatient of control.

In the same year in which the Achaian confederacy took its rise, Seleucas, who had outlived all the other generals of Alexander, and had reunited the whole empire of that conqueror in Europe and Asia, was killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus, an exiled Egyptian prince, to whom he had afforded an asylum.

In the kingdom of Macedonia, Cassander, the murderer of the family of Alexander, was succeeded by twelve kings, within the space of sixteen years; as if

the throne was fated to pay the retribution due to the guilt of blood. [B. C. 292.] Demetrius, celebrated for the invention of excellent military engines, and for the siege of Rhodes, drove out the house of Cassander. [B. C. 284.] He was expelled, in turn, by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, [B. C. 282,] and the latter by the hoary Lysimachus, a soldier of Alexander, who had established himself in Thrace. Seleucus, still more aged, conquered Lysimachus; and his assassin, the treacherous Ptolemy, succeeded Seleucus. [B. C. 280.]

In the mean time, a tribe of Gauls proceeded from the feet of the Pyrenæan mountains, in quest of territory, and passed over into Asia. They were allured by the riches of Macedonia, and invaded that country. Ptolemy was slain, in fighting against them; and, in the course of one year, three kings ascended and lost the tottering throne. The Gauls penetrated through Macedonia, Thessaly, the pass of Thermopylæ, where no Leonidas was now found to withstand them, and reached Parnassus, at whose feet Delphi is situated. Here, the Greeks availed themselves of the heights; a tempest, as if sent by the gods, frightened the enemy; and the Gauls betook themselves to a shameful flight. They advanced no more, in that direction, but passed over into Asia.

All Alexander's captains were now dead, and the nations were exhausted, by a war of four and forty years for the succession to his throne. [B. C. 278.] Afterwards, King Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius, the besieger of cities, an able and humane general, raised Macedonia out of its ruins. He afforded a generous protection to the Greeks, during a reign of forty years, and left behind him two sons, who, inheriting his goodness, and his courage in emergencies, maintained possession of the throne.

The Macedonian kingdom extended from the Propontic sea, and from the wild mountains of Thrace, on the coast, to the confines of Greece. In the mountainous inland country, it reached along the boundaries of

many barbarous tribes, never wholly subdued, as far as Ætolia. The Ætolians inhabited the hilly districts and mountains, which lie to the northward of Rhium, or the western gulf of Corinth. They were a wild, unconquered people, united in a federal republic; a horde of warriors, who sought fortune and fame in exploits; careless of faith, religion, and the laws of nations.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SELEUCIDÆ.

AFTER the death of Alexander, Perdiccas, to whom he had, in some manner, intrusted the administration, governed Asia, in the name of his family. As soon as the restless ambition of this chief was discovered, he lost his life; and Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, acquired the chief authority in Asia. The ingenious Eumenes, a man of extraordinary genius and courage, fought, in vain, for the children of the hero. The ungovernable licentiousness and insatiable avidity of the *Argyraspidæ*, a body of soldiers, whom Alexander had distinguished, could not endure the love of order, and the disinterested zeal for justice, which governed the conduct of Eumenes, and they betrayed him to his enemy.

[B. C. 315.] After the murder of Eumenes, Antigonus no longer doubted of being able to govern Asia, without opposition. When he was nearly eighty years old, the rivals of his power, whom he had treated with injustice, combined against him, and defeated, [B. C. 300,] on the river Issus, this great and ungrateful general, who, thirty-two years before, had assisted in conquering Darius, on the same spot, but had been the first to forget his allegiance to the family of his King. He was the father of Demetrius, from whom the last Macedonian kings were descended.

Seleucus afterwards reigned peaceably in Asia, and Ptolemy over Egypt, Cyprus, and other Grecian islands. Both of them transmitted the sceptre to their descendants.

Seleucus, the founder of many cities, a wise monarch, fell, as above-mentioned, by assassination. The shades of the mother, the brethren, the wife, and the children of Alexander, seemed to pursue, with vengeance, these kings, who owed their thrones to their treachery towards his house. Such is the course of human affairs; and how much more awful would be the lesson offered to our view, if we could penetrate into the souls of tyrants.

After the murder of Seleucus, when Macedonia became again the reward of guilt, Philetærus, who commanded at Pergamus, formed for himself a kingdom, on the coasts of Ionia and Æolia. Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, inherited the remainder of his father's empire.

The vigor of this monarchy afterwards decayed, in its extreme parts, and India, Bactria, and Persia were disjoined. A light cavalry, distinguished for its fleetness in the desert, and remarkably useful in the extensive plains of flat and open provinces, founded, under Ardshak, the empire of the Parthians. [B. C. 246.] This people retained their power, during five hundred years; their mode of warfare being best adapted to the protection of the only boundaries on which they had to repel any dangerous assaults. In the military government of the Parthians, there were frequent vicissitudes, in the succession of the kings, as generally happens, where the favor of the soldiery disposes of the throne; but no variation took place in the form of government, the latter being adapted to the genius and manners of the Parthian people.

Lesser Asia would have been lost to the Seleucidæ, at an earlier period, if some Cretans had not betrayed, for gold, the excellent general, Achæus, to whom this country had confided its protection. Antiochus the

Third, after inflicting a heavy vengeance on this unfortunate chief, from whom he had before received great benefits, had not the good fortune to close his life in the possession of his guilty conquests. They were torn from him, in his old age, by the arms of the Romans, who gave Asia Minor, as far as Mount Taurus, to Eumenes, whom the Syrian monarch had despised. [B. C. 189.] Antiochus, who, in his earlier years, seemed to merit the surname of, The Great, became, in his old age, unlike himself; and, having outlived his fame, fell, in Elymais, by a miserable death. [B.C. 185.]

The government of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, so often the prize of bloody wars and the blackest treachery, was thenceforth dependent on Rome. Eighteen kings reigned in the course of a hundred years. Antioch, the metropolis, founded by the first Seleucus, being the capital of a fertile province, and becoming the emporium of Upper Asia, continued to be one of the most opulent cities in the world, and the seat of luxury and pleasure.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PTOLEMIES.

OF all the conquests of Alexander, Egypt enjoyed the earliest and most lasting prosperity. As soon as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had gained possession of this country, it resisted the attempts of others, by the advantages of its natural situation. Ptolemy had a moderation in his disposition, which restrained him from meddling with affairs, in which he was obliged to venture too much. He soon acquired the reputation of gentleness and equity, by which he gained the favor of the people and the confidence of other kings. For the rest, the Ptolemies governed according to the advice of a senate, formed of the chiefs of the Macedonian army, by whose aid they had conquered Egypt.

[B. C. 284.] This country became, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the chief seat of the sciences of Greece, of the fine arts, and of splendid opulence. The grandeur displayed by this Prince, in architecture, became proverbial. He and his son, Evergetes, were patterns of wise and virtuous monarchs; but the later Ptolemies did not conform themselves to these models.

The celebrated fertility and the delightful climate of Egypt, and the opulence increased by extensive commerce, of which Alexandria was the chief support, gave the people a devotion to pleasure, and all the resources for its enjoyment. In their manners, every thing was carried to excess. The royal family became deteriorated, in every successive generation. We might be tempted to seek the reason of this defect, in the fact, that the Ptolemies commonly intermarried with their kindred. Is it necessary, in the human as in the inferior species, to cross and renovate the breed, in order to maintain the vigor and ennoble the race? Eunuchs and favorites governed in Alexandria, whose successions, with their cabals, their cruelties and crimes, constitute the history of Egypt.

At first, the fear of the Seleucidæ restrained corruption; but, when the great name of Rome became the protection of the Ptolemies, they gave themselves up, carelessly, to the gratification of their passions. Their court became the theatre of the most abandoned life, and of the most flagitious excesses.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE fruit of Alexander's victories remained, in Egypt, in the hands of the Ptolemies; in Syria, in those of the Seleucidæ; in Macedonia, in the house of Antigonus; and, in general, in the possession of the

persecutors of the conqueror's family. Yet the people seem to have gained by the dissolution of the Persian monarchy. The resorts of commercial industry were multiplied, by the establishment of new capital cities. Grecian culture penetrated the mass of Oriental uniformity, and hereditary kings were found more advantageous to the provinces, than the satraps, who were often changed, (and so much the more avaricious,) the most dreadful curse of universal empire. A comparison of the Macedonian kings, with the Syrian and Egyptian, establishes the maxim, founded on experience, that it is a misfortune for men to have no check upon their power. The patience of the Asiatics, and the weakness of the Egyptians, rendered that exertion unnecessary, which Antigonus Gonatas and his house were obliged to put forth, in order to support their authority in Greece. This throne was adorned, during the longest period, by princes of great qualities. It fell, because its last possessors were ignorant, till it was too late, of their external relations, and, by ruinous passions, gave occasion to their misfortunes.

From this period, Rome gained the sovereignty of the civilized world, and maintained it, until the morals of the Romans became as corrupt as those of the subdued nations: after which time, the sceptre of the Romans was rent from them by the hands of Northern barbarians, and by the ferocious hordes of the Arabian Desert. Power ever depends upon moral strength; from those who cease to deserve it, it passes to more able or virtuous claimants; and every great empire falls, through its own faults.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK V.

SOURCES OF ROMAN HISTORY.

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SOURCES OF ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Alexander the Great promised the philosopher, Diogenes, to grant him any favor that might give him pleasure, and Diogenes requested nothing more, than that the King would go from between him and the sun, that Prince said to his courtiers, who were anxious to know his opinion of this singular man, “Were I not Alexander, I would fain be Diogenes.” Men of aspiring minds are eager to make all things yield to them, or they despise every thing which the people regard with admiration. It is not otherwise with states, which have two paths to fame: they may secure independence, like Athens and Lacedæmon, by poverty, by superior virtue, and intellect; or, like Rome, by vast schemes of conquest and dominion.

The sources of the history of Rome are, for the most part, lost, till the time when it was about to pass under the dominion of a single despot. The annals of the pontiffs were burnt, and only a few ancient memorials were cited, by authors whose works are extant. The writings of the oldest historians, from Diocles to Sallust, have perished, with the exception of a few fragments; and they appear neither to have been composed with critical accuracy, nor by men sufficiently enlightened. The memory of many events was preserved, by means of orations pronounced at the deaths of illustrious citizens, and by their statues, which adorned the halls of

the great houses ; but the pride of ancestry often corrupted these sources with fiction.

CHAPTER II.

POLYBIUS.

[B. C. 150.] POLYBIUS, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, is the oldest author of Roman history, whose works yet survive. During his long residence at Rome, as ambassador of the Achæan league, he gained the friendship of the great Scipio. Concerning the constitution of the state, he is the more instructive, as he does not, like a native, assume much as already known, but writes like one who had been obliged to study for himself. He viewed the Alps, Spain, and Africa, with the eyes of a traveller, and acquired that local knowledge, without which it is difficult to render historical description perspicuous. Polybius displays an upright judgement, without prejudice in favor of this or that constitution, and estimates each, according to its merits. He does not gaze, with astonishment, at the prosperity which fortune appears to have given to the conqueror ; but, while he seeks and unfolds the causes of the fate of Carthage, he foretells when and how the same calamities may happen to its oppressors. We find not, in him, the art of Herodotus, the power of Thucydides, the expressive brevity of Xenophon. He is a statesman, occupied with his subject, who, without thinking of the approbation of the learned, writes chiefly for statesmen. His characteristic excellence is good sense.

CHAPTER III.

PLAUTUS.—TERENTIUS.—CATO.

[B. C. 182—145.] OF the Roman authors of the same age, the theatrical poets, Plautus and Terence, have alone descended to our times. They furnish no description of Roman manners; for they only transferred into their own language the productions of the Grecian stage.

All the information, therefore, that we obtain from them, is an idea of the style of Roman taste, during their age. The bold, manly traits, and powerful description, of Plautus; the Attic polish, the inimitable simplicity, and delicate shadings, of Terence; are suited, respectively, to the senate of warriors, and the popular assembly of rustics, as they existed in the time of Scipio, and to that later period, when the philosophy and effeminacy of subjugated Greece began to tame its haughty conquerors.

[B. C. 148.] From this remote epoch, a work is preserved, on agriculture, which is ascribed to the elder Cato; and is very instructive concerning the domestic and laborious life of the conquerors of Carthage and Macedonia. All the fragments of the authors of that time bear the stamp of unpolished strength.

CHAPTER IV.

SALLUST.

THE grave and austere exterior of the Romans lasted longer than the virtues, of which it was the effect and outward form. It prevailed in the house, and in the public harangues, of the voluptuous Augustus; and

Nero's atrocities excited fewer murmurs, than his neglect of public decorum. This majestic manner, the fruit of that loftiness of mind which characterized the early times, and of the dignity which belongs to the management of public affairs; this venerable style of antiquity, contributes to give to the works of Sallust that imposing expression, which is suited to the history of the misfortunes and blackest crimes of men. The prevailing vices held the author under their yoke, and his habits were in direct violation of those maxims of self-devotion and disinterestedness, which he so eloquently recommended; but no Roman citizen allowed himself the least appearance of levity in an historical work which concerned the commonwealth.

The two fragments of the history of Sallust finely portray the decline of liberty and morals.

CHAPTER V.

CICERO.—CÆSAR.—VARRO.

THE outline furnished by Sallust is filled up by the epistles and harangues of Cicero, the prince of Roman orators. We are delighted with the love of virtue and wisdom, which prevails through his writings, and obtain from them much information concerning the secret causes of the revolutions of his time. By him, we are taught less to lament the ruin of a constitution, which pardoned Verres, which respected Clodius, and became the blind instrument of ambition. We perceive, in the philosophical works of Cicero, how far thinking men had advanced, just before the foundation of Christianity, in their views respecting the chief interests of mankind.

Cicero has transmitted information concerning the preceding century, its manners and laws, without which,

we should not be competent to form a just estimate of the most interesting age of the greatest of republics.

In the same point of view, the remaining works of his friend Varro, on agriculture and language, are valuable. They display to us the life which virtuous men led, during the times of public corruption, and the admirer of antiquity finds in them treasures of knowledge.

The Commentaries of Cæsar are a model of majestic simplicity, in historical narration. As he writes of his own actions, it is necessary to use the accounts of others, for critical illustration. In every word, in every omission, there is a design. With infinite art, Cæsar sets one fact in a strong light, and throws a shade over another. Instead of finding a pattern of impartial history, we become acquainted with the man; in every epithet, in every turn of expression, he displays himself, his own genius and intentions.

CHAPTER VI.

NEPOS.—CATULLUS.—LUCRETIVS.—DIONYSIVS OF HALICARNASSVS.—DIODORVS OF SICILY.

ALTHOUGH Cornelius Nepos was the biographer of an illustrious Roman, who was the constant friend of Cicero, yet, as the greater number of the lives, which he has written, are those of Greeks, he might be more properly reckoned among the historians of that nation.

The wisdom of Pomponius Atticus consisted in avoiding to take any personal share in the affairs of state, during turbulent times, and in leading a life of philanthropy and domestic retirement. We are delighted with the pleasing style of Nepos; but there is in his writings more of philosophy and refinement than of the ancient Roman character.

The poet Catullus was the countryman and friend of Nepos. His odes show how far it was permitted, in

republican Rome, to portray scenes of licentiousness. In fact, the utmost latitude was allowed; and Cicero openly brings similar traits before the people. Catullus was the Roman Greecourt,* yet bolder, and in simplicity and elegance superior to the French poet; even though he had left nothing but the ode on the sparrow of his mistress.

While Catullus amused the dissolute youth with voluptuous representations, and contributed to render their vices less ferocious, Lucretius excited, among the reflecting Romans, dangerous doubts concerning the nature of things. The contemplations which he opened to their minds were contrary to those principles on which the laws and virtue of Rome were founded; and promoted the overthrow of morals already corrupted by luxury. We admire, in Lucretius, the majesty of ancient poetry, and the more alluring graces of the rising philosophy of Epicurus.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been supposed, without sufficient proof, to have been a freedman of the family of Cicero. His Roman history, written with eloquence and learning, is too beautiful and too animated, to be true. Fragments of poetry and traditions do not afford such pictures, and it is evident that the author must have filled up many chasms. The outlines of the constitution are traced by Dionysius, with fidelity and eloquence, and we only complain that he is too great an orator. These faults in his manner are not of the worst kind; but the failings of excellent authors require to be pointed out, while those of inferior writers are easily detected. No critic has better performed that duty, than Dionysius himself, in his books on the historians and orators of the Greeks, which are indispensable to all who wish to perceive accurately the beauties of those authors, and to form their taste on the best rules.

We here willingly make mention of the learned Si-

* *Greecourt* was a celebrated French poet and writer of epigrams, of the age of Louis XIV.—*T*.

cilian Diodorus, who delivers much rare and excellent information, on the fables of the primitive world, on the history of his country, and on the wars of the successors of Alexander ; but the portion of his work, in which he treated of the Roman history, has become the spoil of time.

CHAPTER VII.

TITUS LIVIUS.—VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

FROM the times of the republic, no connected work, on the history of Rome, is extant, older than the age of Titus Livius, except the embellished narrative of Dionysius, which is not half perfect, and the celebrated productions, on particular subjects, which we have already noticed. Although Livy gave his work the graces of eloquence, (for he intended it to be read,) yet he carefully made use of all the sources of correct knowledge which were accessible to him. The prodigies which he relates do not impeach the soundness of his judgement ; for he reported what the ancient world believed, and what he might well leave to the credence of the Roman people. He supports our interest, through the most barren times, by making an admirable use of meager chronicles and traditions, and by adding excellent reflections interwoven in beautiful harangues. The genius of the republic was not yet extinct, and Rome was charmed with his work. The chief part of his history describes the events of the fifty-two years which elapsed from the beginning of the second Carthaginian war to the conquest of Macedonia, in which he availed himself of the works of Polybius, now, for the most part, lost. What reader can finish, without grief, the forty-five books which alone have survived out of the one hundred and forty-one which Titus Livius wrote ? And how poignant is our regret,

in remembering, that the last manuscript of the remainder was destroyed, as waste paper, in France, scarcely a century and a half ago!*

In following the connexion of events, from the point of time when Livy deserts us, to the Augustan age, we shall always find it better to make use of the brief abstract which the spirited narrative of Velleius Paterculus affords, than of the meager summaries of the lost books of Livy. In this part of the work of Velleius, the patriotic feeling of a Roman citizen displays itself, while a philosophical estimation of men renders his delineation of characters highly valuable. When he enters upon later times, Velleius falls into the tone of adulation, even towards tyrants. In treating of the form of the constitution, he displays quite a different temper, so that his excessive flattery has the appearance of irony. It would seem, that the Emperor Tiberius, whom, together with his favorite, Velleius so extravagantly praised, understood his flattery in this sense; for he caused him to be put to death. But Tiberius forgave none but himself, for confiding in Sejanus.

CHAPTER VIII.

STRABO.—MELA.—PAUSANIAS.—PTOLEMÆUS.

For obtaining an acquaintance with the state of the Roman empire, under Augustus, the work of the learned and intelligent geographer, Strabo, is of the highest importance, and can never sufficiently be studied. It contains all that is essential for illustrating the antiquities of each country. The author describes the chief provinces as he had seen them, and his account unfolds, in various instances, the causes of that decay which soon

* *Lettres de Colomies.* The story, however, of the rocket-maker, who made rockets of the lost decades of Livy, is rather problematical.—*T.*

showed itself, and of many great events of the succeeding times.

The short description of the earth, by Pomponius Mela, appeared at a later period. What Mela says of the nature of countries, and the manners of various nations, is often new, and of sound judgement.

The journey of Pausanias through Greece, besides other important historical information, gives an idea of the rich treasures, at that time extant, in the works of ancient art, which excites our keenest regret.

The enumeration of countries, nations, and towns, by the Alexandrian Ptolemy, is a dry catalogue; but so instructive, by its accuracy, that a critical edition of it is among the objects of our most anxious wishes.

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGIL.—HORACE.—OVID.

IT is impossible to speak of the sources of our acquaintance with Rome, with reference to the time of her highest power, without mentioning the three men who chiefly contributed to earn for the Augustan age a glory, second only to that of the age of Pericles.

From the time of the amorous Theocritus to that of Solomon Gesner, no pastoral poet has lived, who is so worthy to be compared with those great masters, as Virgil. The genius of Virgil would have borne him far above the fame even of his illustrious rivals, if the most elegant and accomplished imitation could have attained the faithful and lively expression of such originals, and if it were possible for a poet, who dwelt in the plains of Mantua and in the imperial palace, to form a conception of the amenities of a pastoral life, as they display themselves on Mount Ætna, and in Switzerland. The poem of Virgil on agriculture is, in language and sublimity, the finest production of the Latin muse.

The highest encomium we can bestow upon Homer is to say, that he called forth the emulation of the bard who had sung the exploits of Æneas, and that the latter has only excelled his great example, when the philosophy of a refined age gave him an advantage.

For the privilege of being the best painter of manners, Horace has to thank his system of ethical philosophy. He partook sufficiently of human passions to conceive the feelings which belonged to them; yet had too much temperance to become, for a long time, their slave. He possessed a degree of candor and equity, which rendered him indulgent towards human frailties.

After Horace had fought, with the last Roman citizens, for the republic, but found the revolution unavoidable, he adhered to the master who possessed the greatest talents, and made use of his favor in a manner useful to the state and to himself. While he praised Augustus, he showed him the path to fame, and, at the same time, taught a lesson, which is worthy of being recommended to the subjects of a monarchy. What could be more wise than to adhere to him, who, with a sufficient power, combined true ability and the most humane designs? The world would not have gained any thing, if all virtuous men had died like Cato, or conspired like Brutus.

Ovid has displayed great learning, in his *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, without the aid of which it is impossible to obtain a correct idea of the religion of the ancients. The former is the most instructive book on mythology, but the *Fasti* are even necessary for the correct estimation of Christian rites; for many customs have been borrowed from the Pagan ritual, and interpreted in a more refined manner. Often, indeed, the old as well as the new sense has been forgotten or changed, and the whole has become an unintelligible symbol, in which the worship of God has degenerated into a wretched pantomime.

Ovid's 'Art of Love' is a poem not peculiar to his

age ; we discover by it, that these matters were at Rome, as they are with us. Ovid possessed the elegance and the beautiful language of his time ; but he had an enervating weakness of style. His favorite sentiments bring him into endless repetitions.

The decline of good taste became afterwards perceptible. The human mind is eager even to exceed perfection, and thus alienates itself from the happy mean, when once attained.

CHAPTER X.

TACITUS.—THE ELDER PLINY.

THE history of the government of Tiberius is the great work, by which Tacitus has acquired the fame of penetrating more deeply into the soul of a tyrant, than any other historian. In his subsequent books, we trace the corruption of the ancient character, while a few illustrious souls, in the midst of the general abasement, yet opposed their virtue to the omnipotence of Nero.

Tacitus has incurred the suspicion of having exaggerated the crimes and depravity of fallen princes ; but what he relates is according to the nature of the human heart, especially under a southern climate, and other times afford too ample a confirmation. It has been objected to him, as to Guicciardini, that he paints mankind in black colors ; but history is conversant with men, whose passions are fervid enough to occasion remarkable commotions. Extremes are seized by the annalist, of which the private citizen scarcely forms a conception, and which are only so far of service, in the estimation of national character, as they either oppress or elevate a nation, by the influence of example.

The universal history of the elder Pliny, the abstract of two thousand books, for the most part lost, is a Roman Encyclopædia. Besides natural history, it con-

tains a description of the manners of all the ages of Rome, delineated with the talent of a great writer, and with the feeling of a virtuous man. Many have recognised in him the Haller of antiquity: he resembled that philosopher in the variety of his knowledge, in his laborious habits, and in his industry in compiling. The prodigies which he relates, in order to set forth their absurdity, have been laid to his charge, as if really believed by him. Concerning the arts, Falconet appears not always to have understood his meaning; and it is worth while to compare what Mengs, who was a greater master of the subject, has written on the painting of the ancients.

CHAPTER XI.

PLUTARCH.—SUETONIUS.

It is superfluous to say much of Plutarch, for ages have decreed his praise. Whoever has a feeling for the moral greatness of the heroes of antiquity, needs only to read Plutarch, in order to be delighted with him, and to experience the same sentiment which he has himself expressed: "While," said he, "I had daily before my eyes, in setting forth their history, the exploits of so many illustrious men, I have myself become a better man." He did not write for those who measure all other ages by the standard of their own.

After Plutarch and his heroes, it is difficult to speak of Suetonius and the Cæsars; yet his book is worthy of observation, although we may doubt whether he always followed accurate authorities, and fully understood them.

CHAPTER XII.

LATER HISTORIANS.

DION CASSIUS, the Nicæan, was an experienced, industrious, and honest, statesman. The principal resource, which we derive from him, is an account of the conduct of affairs under Augustus, which we have not in so perfect a form from any other historian. In this are contained the speeches of Mæcenas and Agrippa, together with those of the Emperor himself, in which Augustus, now the Father of his Country, appears to have become worthy of Virgil and Horace.

Herodian is faithful, consistent, and interesting, without art. A comparison of the times described by him with that period, which followed the death of Nero, and is recorded by Tacitus, leads us to observe the gradual effect of monarchical power on the senate and armies, and the influence of the long reigns of four virtuous princes.

The five or six historians from Hadrian to Carus must be used, in the deficiency of better authors. They are not circumstantial enough to afford us a complete knowledge of characters and affairs, or to fix, with certainty, our estimation of them. In general, they say little, and that in a few words. The ancients express much in a small compass, and are yet sufficiently ample. The art of the historian as little consists in the extent of composition, as the object of the reader is obtained by hastening through a number of reigns, in a few hours. Skill is manifested by the correct delineation of every thing that is serviceable to the knowledge of men and of nations.

In much later times, Ammianus deserves an honorable mention, as a warrior of excellent understanding and integrity ; and, on this very account, an unfavorable judge of the sycophant court of Constantius. On the

other hand, he is worthy to render the justice refused by many to the last of the Cæsars, who deserved to be a successor of the first.

CHAPTER XIII.

VARIOUS WRITERS OF PARTICULAR HISTORIES.

SOME have not unsuccessfully cultivated a more confined field, or diffused by their writings a less direct light.

Philo, the Jew, in his account of his embassy to Caius Caligula, makes us feel, what an evil it is for a nation, in matters which concern its very existence, to depend on the wantonness or caprice of a senseless or base courtier.

His countryman, Flavius Josephus, in his work on the Jewish war which was terminated by Titus, describes an interesting struggle of military skill, against the inventive resources and the desperate fury of a people driven to the last extremities. He sets before us the completion of the most ancient national history in the world, and the fulfilment of the warnings of Christ.

Petronius displays the manners of the court of Nero, the conversation and habits of the voluptuaries of antiquity. Why may not this book be, in reality, the work of its reputed author? The labored style of a Seneca may well have a different character from the discourses of a youth of genius and taste, in the pursuit of pleasure. Petronius initiates the reader into the secrets of a class of men, who seldom appear on the great theatre, so naturally and so openly exposed.

Juvenal is the severe censor of these immoralities. He does not, like Horace, play round our hearts; he fills us with awe, with horror, with humiliation. What a scene does he set before us! How inventive, how bold, do we find the human heart, in pursuing its evil destiny, its utter debasement! If there be some traits,

painted in too strong colors, yet the pattern was in real life ; and what reason can any man have for doubt, who is acquainted with our great cities ?

Willingly the reader consoles himself, under Trajan's friendly sceptre, in the good and amiable society to which he is introduced, in the letters of the Younger Pliny, who is often too witty, but always pleasing and instructive. Much is forgiven to Trajan and his age ; even their departure from the rules of good taste.

The beautiful oration, in praise of the best of the Emperors, reminds us of the base panegyrics on those who were less worthy. The adulations of Nazarius, of Mamertinus, of Eumenius, are composed in so false a taste, that they find not many readers ; but the few are repaid, by the knowledge of historical facts, for their otherwise thankless labor.

CHAPTER XIV.

AUTHORS WHO HAVE BORROWED FROM OTHERS.

THE age of Curtius, who described, rhetorically, the actions of Alexander, is unknown. We might be inclined to place him in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and his style does not contradict the conjecture. Arrian, a rival worthy of Xenophon, has surpassed Curtius, in his portrait of the hero ; and the works of Arrian, and what besides remains from Appian, on the Spanish, African, Pontic, and Civil, Wars, form a very instructive and well-written collection.

The sublime poem of Lucan, on the war of Cæsar and Pompey, is obscure, in comparison with the simplicity with which this history has been written, by contemporaries, but reconciles us, by passages full of ancient majesty, and, on the whole, is wonderful, as the production of an unfortunate young man, who perished in his twenty-eighth year. He has been accused of

taking an undue part against Cæsar ; but Cæsar himself would have forgiven him, if he had seen him under the necessity of respecting his authority in the hands of Nero.

The poem of Silius on the war of Hannibal is, in every respect, within the limits of mediocrity.

CHAPTER XV.

COLLECTIONS.

WE now come to collectors, a very valuable class of writers, when they are accurate, in which number many unfortunate original authors might have enlisted themselves, with greater reputation and advantage. Valerius Maximus reports, with ability, memorable actions and orations, but his reflections upon them are intolerable. Frontinus and Polyænus instruct us, though often not so accurately as they ought, concerning the stratagems of war. Ælian relates many amusing tales. It were much to be wished, that he had assisted our researches, by adducing his authorities, particularly as he appears himself to have possessed no great share of sagacity. The learned nightly studies of Aulus Gellius, and the more important festive dialogues of Athenæus, are far greater treasures. The extracts of the work ascribed to Julius Africanus, under the title of *Κεῖτοι*, have also a peculiar value. We therein observe, that the descendants of those Romans, who warned their enemy, Pyrrhus, against the traitors that were preparing to poison him, had at length made the preparation of poison an article in their art of war. The method of poisoning fountains and grain, and infecting the air, is treated just in the same manner as the drawing out of an army, in battle array, and the manœuvres of the field.

The lexicon of Pollux is an excellent cornucopiæ, which contains rare materials on the Attic municipal

laws, on the theatre, on music, on the domestic regulations, and all the customs of the Greeks. Hesychius is full of learning, but not so free from later additions.

At this period, the pursuit of superficial and easily-acquired knowledge of many subjects occupied the place, as it has done among the moderns, of more profound studies. The literature of this age acquired also another resemblance with that of recent times. The great works of celebrated authors were condensed into beauties and extracts, in consequence of which, the principal works were neglected and lost. This ungracious service the good Justin performed for the profound historical work of Trogus Pompeius.

Florus reduced the Roman history into a similar extract ; he has the style and manner of the French academicians of the age of Louis the Fifteenth. Montesquieu quotes from him many passages, as specimens of good taste ; but that these passages are in the true style of history is what Montesquieu would hardly have ventured to say. The wreath of the ancient historians was not a garland of so many hues ; the laurel of Apollo satisfied them. A similar abstract, prepared by Aurelius Victor, is simple, and, in general, ordinary ; that of Eutropius is more carefully composed, and more learned. It became a chief book of instruction, for the middle ages, and was continued, in the ninth century, at the instance of Adelberga, a princess of Benevento, who was a lover of learning.

CHAPTER XVI.

SEVEN OTHER AUXILIARY RESOURCES.

AFTER perusing all these historians, we cannot attain a profound knowledge of the ancient Romans, without studying their books of law. On the other hand, the whole compass of studies, hitherto pointed out, throws

interest and light upon the Roman jurisprudence. Grævina, Heineccius, and Montesquieu, have opened the way to its investigation ; but there remain, in the *corpus juris*,* many as yet hidden treasures of the history of the ancient empire and of the human mind. The want of arrangements in these works, the defect of good editions, the bad taste of the compilers, are so many Cerberuses, which render the entrance difficult ; but nothing is invincible to Herculean labor.

Few forensic orations are extant ; and those are, for the most part, from uncertain authors. Next to Cicero's books on orators and on their art, we must distinguish Quintilian's more ample institutions, and the remarkable treatise on the causes of the decline of eloquence, added to the works of Tacitus. The study of these books throws much light on the spirit of law in various constitutions. In the old consul, we recognise the statesman ; in Quintilian, the lawyer by profession. Although the "declamations" are for the most part only school-exercises, yet the perusal of Aristides and Themistius is not unrepaid in historical information.

Those, who have written on different arts, deserve our notice. In good times, they are for our example, and for our warning in the period of decline. It might be added, that, in the last point of view, the declamatory writers are serviceable ; but we have no need of seeking so far in antiquity for similar warnings.

The first of arts, agriculture, has been treated by Columella in a manner less pleasing than that of Varro, but more circumstantial. The alterations that were introduced in the succeeding ages, the origin of many rules which still prevail among our rustics, and of many superstitious notions, may be learnt in the works of Palladius.

The state of the art of medicine, in the early times of the empire, is set before us, in as pleasing a manner, in the learned and sensible work of Celsus ; and here,

*[Body of law ; the whole body or code of Roman laws was called *corpus juris Romani*.]

Galen, the founder of the Methodic doctrine, is so much the less to be forgotten, as, without his work on the parts of the body, and some other treatises, we should be unable properly to estimate the knowledge which was at that time possessed in this science.

Vitruvius teaches the art, which is most important, next to that of nourishing our bodies and preserving them in health; namely, architecture. In the course of his work, he not only imparts valuable information, on many particulars, of the manner of life, but shows in how noble and animated a strain the ancients contemplated every subject. His conception of architecture is sublime and philosophical, beyond expectation.

Vegetius sets forth the great and peculiar art of Rome. His excellent work deserves to be edited anew, by some careful observer of the revolutions in the military affairs of the Romans. Vegetius does not always distinguish the practice of different periods. He notices, however, all the most important of those regulations, which became continually more complex and erudite, from Pyrrhus and the simple rules of the old conquerors, until the later inventions were introduced, the performance of which was more difficult, than their effect was decisive; and which were more striking on the parade, than effectual in the field, for maintaining the boundaries of the empire. Onosander composed an abstract of the rules most useful to the general; he does not enter into what must come, every day, before the notice of the soldier. On the question, whether the old military art was superior or inferior to that of the present day, it is to be observed, that the number of men possessed of inventive genius was greater among the ancients; but that the art has probably now become more systematic, and further advanced. Not to proceed, is to go back. The great Condé rightly believed, that, if Cæsar should return to this world, he would defeat all our generals. The mechanism of our armies may itself be more perfect than that of the legions, but, in reality, the instruments are less altered than the men.

For the historical information they convey, the philosophers are also important. The character which they impress on literature has an influence upon the affairs of the state ; and these are not without their effect on the manner of representing philosophical ideas. In the greatest corruption of manners, the severe doctrines of the Stoics obtained the warmest votaries ; for great minds adhered, the more rigidly, to the sober maxims of virtue. Not only the most opposite extremes existed together, in Rome, but often in the same person ; many had the books and statues of the sages, in their halls, while the manners of their secret life were those which Petronius has described. Even Seneca gives rules, which were contradicted, not indeed by his sentiments, but by his actions, since he could never persuade himself to abandon the court ; and his death was the most decorous scene of his life. Much may be learned from him, in natural history, and concerning manners and literature. Epictetus was not so learned, but the power of his wisdom shone forth in his innocent life. Who does not admire the fervid love of virtue, which displays itself in Marcus Aurelius ? At a later time, and even during the same period, there arose from the school of Plato, a sect, which introduced into philosophy the mysteries of the Egyptian mythology, and the Oriental doctrines of the influence of gods and demons.

The works of the Fathers of the Church may be used, with no small advantage to history. A spirit of sanctity, of fine moral feeling, and a holy reverence for the Author of their religion, pervades the writings of these men ; but many of them pass under false names, and this renders the use of them, in history, very difficult. In other instances, a mixture of anile tales corrupts their venerable simplicity ; and, now and then, the good Fathers allow themselves a pious fraud. The bad style of most of them, their misconceptions, and the weakness of some, redound to the honor of Christianity. It is manifest, that these persons did not invent so pure, so sublime, a doctrine ; it was not they, who

gained the victory over the religion of Greece and Rome.

Much information on ancient history is contained in writings, which, long after the fall of the old empire, were compiled from books, then in existence. Illustrious persons, of the highest rank, as the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes, Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the Empress Eudocia, and scholars who would less happily have employed their labor in composing works of their own, as Suidas, the Byzantine Stephanus, and the verse-maker Tzetzes, have afforded us the satisfaction of yet admiring such fragments of lost antiquity.

Other resources of history, which are very instructive, by the certainty and exactness of the information derived from them, on subjects which would not otherwise have come to our knowledge, are found in the collections of inscriptions, of monuments of the fine arts, and of coins, which have been made by Muratori, Winkelmann, and Eckhel.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK VI.

THE REPUBLIC OF ROME.

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BOOK VI.

THE REPUBLIC OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF THE KINGS.

UNDER the government of kings, whatever was their number and the period of their reign, concerning which, some doubts have been raised, Rome was founded, peopled, amplified, and attained to a respectable, though not yet formidable, degree of power. [A. U. C. 83.] In the contest of the Horatii, we discover an example of the old northern manners, or rather of the primitive customs of men, which were long preserved in the North. The event occasioned Alba Longa to submit to the sovereignty of Rome. Even now, the rustics that dwell around its ruins are proud of belonging to that town, which was the mother of the imperial city.

This event was important to the growing state, inasmuch as Rome, in consequence of it, succeeded Alba Longa in the command of the Latin confederacy, and thus became the metropolis of a numerous and valiant population.

The towns of Latium were small, and therefore easily retained in subjection. They were places of resort for transacting business, and of refuge, in the exigencies of war. The Latins, as well as the Romans, resided in the country.

[A. U. C. 242.] In the succeeding times, Tarquin seems first to have obtained the command of the more powerful confederacy of the Hetruscan or Tuscan nation, which, however, was a personal trust confided to

him, and not a right transferred to the Roman state. On the contrary, we learn from this circumstance, that Rome was not yet powerful enough, to occasion the Tuscans any apprehension, lest the authority, thus intrusted to its king, might, against their will, become hereditary.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CONSULS.

[A. U. C. 245.] WHEN Tarquin the Second, by his tyrannical government, had acquired the hatred of his people, Brutus contrived to expel him, together with his family, and to erect a consulate, instead of the kingly office. The supreme power, as heretofore, belonged to the senate and people ; but, instead of a regent for life, two consuls were chosen, annually, from the first families, as presidents of the republic and chief directors of affairs.

During the two hundred years which followed that event, wars against many warlike nations of Italy were carried on, by the slender resources of Rome, with the most strenuous exertions, and finally, with decisive success. Rome was in perpetual action ; every consul was eager to distinguish his year ; each war became the stimulus and example of the following, and roused the spirit of conquest in the Roman people, while their knowledge of men increased, with accumulated experience. To these times, belong the military crowns and triumphs, the former of which were attainable by the meanest warrior.*

* Among the Athenians, the reward extended further ; for those who were slain for their country were honored, at the public expense, with magnificent tombs ; were eulogized by the orators ; their children were educated at the charge of the city, and introduced before the whole people, clothed in splendid arms, as the sons of brave and deserving men. In Roman Catholic Switzerland it has been the cus-

Rome, after the expulsion of the kings, was bereft of almost all her territory ; the Tarquins retained their conquests ; and their ally, Porsenna, prince of Clusium, after Brutus had fallen in battle, compelled the Romans to conclude a peace, by which they engaged, for the future, never to use iron, except for ploughs. They seem now to have applied themselves to the arts of peace, for they concluded, in the same year, a treaty of commerce with Carthage. Scarcely did Latium continue to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome.

Petty disputes concerning boundaries occasioned wars with country-towns, over which triumphs were finally gained, and the names and situations of which are scarcely to be discovered. For this same Rome, after a few centuries, all Italy, and, at length, all the regions which extend from Britain to Persia, were too narrow. Hence, let no man, who is endowed with perseverance, despair, on account of the lowness of his birth ; let no state, however small its beginning, despond of rising above its mean original ! The dominion of the world was not a scheme planned beforehand ; it resulted from the judicious employment of contingencies.

While the Sabines, Latium, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volsci, gave exercise to military talents, and kindled, among the citizens of Romulus, the thirst for victory, the internal constitution of the state was the source of perpetual strife. The more violently the passions of the people were inflamed against each other, the more necessary did it appear, to the senate, to give to its vehemence a glorious direction against the enemies of the republic.

tom, even to the present day, to read, annually, at the altar, the names of the citizens and natives who fell in the cause of liberty in the ancient battles, and to say masses, in celebration of their memory.

CHAPTER III.

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE AND DICTATORS.

THE kings had been expelled, by men of old and noble families ; but the people were conscious that the latter only maintained the ascendant by means of the Plebeians. The Patricians, unaccustomed to submit, neglected to confirm their power by gentleness and moderation ; and, when necessity induced them to yield any privilege to the multitude, less of generosity than of weakness was discovered in the concession. They incurred odium, on account of the cruel manner, though consistent with established custom, in which they treated their debtors. It was indeed difficult for the senate to be mild, without appearing to be weak, while, on the one hand, every concession excited some new demand, and, on the other, diminished the power by which the higher orders might hope to restrain the people.

[A. U. C. 265.] The introduction of tribunes of the people was a wise institution, by which the aristocracy was held within bounds, and the fury of the populace was regulated. Among ten tribunes, it seldom happened, that all were so unanimous, in any unjust enterprise, that no individual could be influenced, either by reason or authority, by hope or fear, to desist from the injurious pursuit.

Rome had to thank this body of constitutional leaders of the populace, for the circumstance, that, though in almost perpetual agitation, and amidst frequent commotions which called forth the most turbulent passions, no bloody fray took place, in this city of warriors, during six hundred and twenty-two years.

[A. U. C. 258.] Shortly before the tribunate, we find mention of the first dictator. This officer was generally a military commander, appointed in public

exigencies, when quick and decisive measures were necessary, with undivided and absolute power over all classes of citizens. The functions of the other magistrates were suspended, during the reign of the dictator. His authority continued only as long as the danger of the state required it, and never exceeded the period of six months.

Rome was, on this account, worthy of her many centuries of liberty, and still more lasting empire ; so that scarcely any other commonwealth combined, with equal constancy, so much docility, in listening to proposals which infringed on her favorite customs, and in amalgamating the better institutions of foreign states with her domestic arts and manners.

The tribunate and dictatorship remained long without injurious effect. No dictator, during four hundred years, though ever so victorious and popular, sought to extend his authority beyond the appointed time, or to avoid giving an account of his administration : yet, under this name, in the sequel, the republic was destroyed. Thus we perceive that forms are, in themselves, neither good nor bad, but are rendered such, by men ; they are only distinguished, in opposing, for a shorter or longer time, the progress of corruption.

[A. U. C. 359.] Among the wars waged during the first century of Roman liberty, the contest against the Tuscan city of Veii is remarkable, since it gave the Romans the superiority in Etruria, or Tuscany ; and since, during its course, Winter-campaigns were held, for the first time, and pay delivered to the combatants.* The recompense that was due to the soldiers, for the neglect of agriculture, had been heretofore paid out of booty, or the ransom of towns ; but it appears, that, at this period, a military fund was created.

* Can the testimony of Dionysius, on this point, be reconciled with that of Livy ?

CHAPTER IV.

WARS WITH THE GAULS, LATIUM, SAMNIUM, AND THE
NATIONS OF THE APENNINES.

THE interference of the Romans, in Tuscan affairs, gave occasion to a most formidable trial of their valor and resources.

The Gauls, who inhabited Lombardy and the territories of Venice and Bologna, carried on war against the city of Clusium. For the latter, the Romans interested themselves so warmly, that one of their commissioners, sent to mediate a peace, armed himself in its cause. The Gauls, incensed against the Romans, because they refused to deliver up the ambassador, marched against the city. The want of foresight in the Roman general, who was ignorant of their mode of warfare, gave them, on the rivulet of Allia, a victory, in which the flower of the Roman youth fell. The excessive dismay which this event occasioned, among the vast multitude of the Roman populace, brought the senate to the precipitate resolution of giving up the defence of the city, although the enemy knew little or nothing of the art of besieging, and although Rome had received from her kings, bulwarks of such strength, that a portion of them is believed to remain firm, to the present day. [A. U. C. 364.] The people dispersed themselves over the country; the most valiant of them defended the capitol; and the city was burnt. The Gauls, when it was neither possible nor advantageous to them, to stay longer, retired, and left behind them the terror of their name. Polybius says, that eighty-nine years elapsed, before the Romans again ventured to fight against them.

The consequence of this calamity was, a revolt of the Latin states, which Rome, during the season of prosperity, had treated imperiously. The legions ap-

peared to have lost their ancient confidence, when the Consul P. Decius Mus, invoking the gods of his country, to whom he had devoted himself, as a sacrifice, rushed through the conquering ranks of the enemy, and fell, fighting with desperate fury, but opened, to his reanimated countrymen, the path to victory. When skill is of no avail, it is only by heroism that a lost battle can be restored.

The republic was indebted to this warrior for the reunion of Latium under her sway. She proceeded further, and carried her victorious arms to the shores of the Adriatic. She afforded protection to Campania, the finest and one of the most fertile regions of Europe, full of great and opulent cities, built on the shores of beautiful bays, which formed excellent harbors. The whole country of Campania was under the most flourishing cultivation. Cumæ, indeed, was no longer in her splendor; for, when the crafty Aristodemus encouraged effeminate manners, in order to rule the more easily, the friends of liberty sought security in barbarism; but Naples arose, in the vicinity, and Capua, in the interior. The former enjoyed a moderate prosperity; and the latter, a city of great extent, which might be compared with Rome or Carthage, was the capital of Campania, and soon became the scene of luxury and pleasure, and of political commotion.

For the possession of this country, the Romans waged long wars against the Samnites, a nation of mountaineers on the shores of the Adriatic, who were, in all ages, barbarians, and, at that time, excellently trained in defensive warfare. This contest of fifty years was a school of tactics, for the Romans. It was carried on, by the Samnites, with the greatest valor, and with peculiar skill. In the narrow defile of Caudium, a Roman army was surrounded, and forced to submit to the most degrading surrender. On that occasion, the Samnites ought, either by an honorable peace to have deserved the friendship of Rome, (and such was the wish of Herennius, the venerable father of their general,) or to

have massacred the army, and instantly marched to destroy the city. They contented themselves, however, with inflicting an injury that never could be forgiven. Few men know how to act entirely as circumstances require, at every conjuncture. The senate delivered up to the enemy, the consuls who had subjected themselves to such treatment; they disavowed the treaty, appointed a dictator, and took a bloody revenge. This dictator, Papirius Cursor, defeated the Samnites, in decisive battles. The Roman people were ever most formidable after calamities. The first impression of terror yielded to a high feeling of their own powers.

These events bring us down to the time of Alexander the Great. It is believed, that, if he had invaded Italy, the conquerer of Samnium would have been opposed to him. It may be doubted, whether the Romans had, in that age, attained sufficient skill, in the art of war, to enable them to resist the Grecian phalanx. Livy appears not to be sufficiently accurate, in his account of the wars of this period; and, from the want of more correct information, to have drawn into his narrative the institutions of later times.

At length, all the tribes of the Apennine mountains undertook, what they would have attempted, more wisely, when Samnium was yet able to give weight to their enterprise,—they entered into a great confederacy against the Romans. They had no common commander of the whole alliance, and, when the Consul Fabius had taken some passes, which were considered as impenetrable, the general consternation gave him an easy victory over his dispirited enemies; in consequence of which, the war terminated in the dismemberment of the league.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR OF PYRRHUS.

ALL Tuscany, the Apennines, Latium, Campania, Samnium, and other countries, belonged to Rome when that republic engaged in a contest against the military discipline of the Greeks. The Grecian colonies, in Lower Italy, through the excellence of their soil and their advancement in arts and civilization, had attained, in a short time, to a very flourishing state. Some of them long followed the precepts of Pythagoras, and evinced their beneficial influence. A magnificent temple of Juno, on the cape of Lacinium, was their common point of union. Afterwards, they became more democratical and disorderly, and destroyed each other; while some fell under the grievous usurpation of powerful citizens, or of the tyrants of Syracuse. Tarentum, the seat of great commerce, of industry, of opulence, and all the consequences which are usually connected with it, long maintained its independence. The Tarentines were disgraced, by effeminacy and pride; the latter rendered them insolent, and the former incapable of adding effect to their arrogant pretensions. The hills abounding in rich pastures, into which the Apennines expand themselves, towards the strait, were inhabited by Bruttian and Lucanian shepherds, a valiant race, but less important, in warfare, than dangerous, by their predatory enterprises. In the pastoral life, every little society exists for itself; and it is seldom that many small tribes combine, to form a considerable nation.

The Tarentines had the insolence to affront the majesty of Rome, and were obliged to solicit the aid of Pyrrhus, king of the opposite continent of Epirus. Pyrrhus was a warrior, after the manner of the *Condottieri* of later times, who hired out themselves and their troops, for pay. He entertained the lofty idea of con-

quering the West, as Alexander had subdued Asia. He understood, profoundly, the art of war, and has written books, which were much esteemed, on that subject; he was a magnanimous and enlightened prince, but possessed no knowledge of the barbarians, against whom he now engaged. [A. U. C. 480.] He had conquered Macedonia, and as quickly lost the fruit of his triumphs. He now allied himself to the Tarentines, and was delighted with the idea, after subduing Rome, of conquering Gaul, Spain, Africa, and of becoming master of Carthage.

[A. U. C. 484.] Pyrrhus defeated the Romans, who were not yet acquainted with his more artful method of fighting, and with his elephants; but, finding in them a courage which he had not anticipated, he thought it expedient to seek their friendship.

The senate, convinced that a lasting alliance must have, for its foundation, mutual respect, and some sort of equality, declared to the victorious King, that they would not give ear to his proposal, till he should have abandoned Italy. Cineas, his ambassador, who had judged of the senate, according to the manner of the Greeks, discovered how inaccessible the Fabricii and the Curii were, to motives of private interest. Nothing was neglected, in order to restore the reputation of the Roman arms; they considered every foreign method of warfare as a problem, which it was proposed to them to solve.

Pyrrhus was completely arrested, in his progress. Perseverance was not one of his qualities, and he gave up the idea of conquering Italy, and proceeded to Syracuse, being the son-in-law of the deceased tyrant, Agathocles, where he behaved with equal valor and inconstancy. He passed thence into the Peloponnesus; and, in an adventure in which he had entered the city of Argos, was killed by a stone.

Meanwhile, the Romans gained possession of Apulia and Calabria, together with the country of the Salentines, and, by the joint influence of their clemency and

their valor, all Italy, from the borders of Cisalpine Gaul to the Sicilian straits, became subject to their sway.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION OF ROME.

THESE ancient times, while Rome was still perpetually engaged in dangerous contests, and was yet full of life and vigor, were the best days of the republic. The constitution became more popular ; but the forum was filled, not by a crowd of mechanics or mariners, but by warriors, whom the senate felt the necessity of treating with forbearance, but with firmness, while they sought to gain the tribunes, by kind treatment. They deprecated the idea of corrupting the morals of the people, in order to maintain the forms of the constitution.

Rome underwent one of her greatest perils, when Terentillus carried his proposal for compiling a code of civil laws ; for, until this time, precedent and natural equity had been the foundation of government. The senate, who saw in this measure the limitation of their power, and an occasion for great disturbances, deferred it, till the ninth year ; but the time came, when they were obliged to submit. The Athenians, who flourished under Pericles, were then petitioned for a copy of the laws of Solon.

Such was the model, on which the Twelve Tables were composed ; the simple beginning of that manifold and perfect system of legislation, which, during the next thousand years, was established by the people, and afterwards by the emperors ; which was compiled, during an age of general ruin, and, after long oblivion, restored, in the twelfth century, to an equally extensive sway ; and which, though it yields justly to national laws, will ever be revered, as a noble monument, and a work deserving of the most attentive study.

The decemviri, the authors of the Twelve Tables, had the boldness to attempt an unjust prolongation of their extraordinary power, and the imprudence to abuse it, with degrading levity. They imagined that licentiousness would be more pleasing to the young Patricians, and an oligarchy, hateful to the people, more agreeable to the old senators, than the constitution, established by usage and crowned with fame; and that there would be found neither enough of virtue and ability in the senate, nor of valor in the people, to effect the overthrow of their unjust tyranny. The decemviri fell, in consequence of an injury which Appius inflicted on Virginia, but the Twelve Tables survived; for the people distinguished the baseness of the authors from the merit of the work.

By degrees, the aristocracy lost its preponderancy, as the Plebeians attained an equal degree of opulence with the Patricians, and as their families intermarried. Where manners are the same, there must be an equality of rights. Though the nobility seemed to be injured by this change, yet the whole people was elevated to nobler sentiments; the Plebeians were chosen into the consulate, and Plebeian consuls defended Rome against the Cimbri and Catiline.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF ROME.

THE two consuls held the highest place, in the Roman republic. All other magistrates and officers, except the tribunes, alone, were subject to them. They introduced the ambassadors of foreign nations to the senate; they presided in that body, and executed its decrees; it was their duty also to harangue the popular assembly, and declare on which side the majority of votes had fallen; they levied and assembled the troops;

they exacted the contingents from the allies of Rome ; they appointed the tribunes of the legions ; and military discipline was so completely under their administration, that they had full power to punish all offences during the campaign, and in the field of battle.

They were empowered to make every expenditure, which seemed necessary, and they gave their commands to the quæstors, for this purpose.

The censors elected the senate, according to a law which required a sufficient property to secure independence. It was not necessary to be an hereditary citizen ; and Appius Claudius, the first of his family, obtained, in a few years, the highest dignities.

The number of the senators amounted to six hundred. They managed the finances, examined public accounts, assigned expenditures, including the great sums which the censors, every five years, allotted to the public buildings and improvements, for the ornament and use of the city. The senate presided over the management of public business, of the relations of Rome with Italy, and with foreign kings and nations, to whose ambassadors they gave audience, and with whom they had the power of declaring war or concluding peace, alliances, or leagues of defence ; they formed the highest court of judicature, in cases of treason, conspiracies, murder, and the administering of poison.

The monarchy survived in the consulate, particularly during war, when more exact obedience and speedy execution required unity of power. The aristocracy resided in the senate, or the assembly of rich citizens who had the most to lose. They had powers, which enabled them to moderate the military ardor of the consuls, and their thirst of conquest.

Yet, all the affairs of chief importance were brought before the popular assembly, which bestowed the highest dignities in the state ; so that, in order to obtain an occasion of displaying other virtues, the young citizen was in the first place obliged, by pleasing manners and modesty, to acquire the love, and, by a grave de-

portment and good morals, to obtain the respect, of the people. The greatest men could not neglect this care ; on the days of election, even Augustus used to flatter the people, who never lost their importance, until after the Comitia were abolished. The magistrates, after their election, were far from having it in their power to recompense themselves, by haughtiness, for their former condescension ; the authorities conferred lasted only for a year ; and complaints and condemnation for the abuse of power, before the assembly from whom it was derived, were to be feared. Life and death depended on the decree of this tribunal ; and no Roman citizen was regularly condemned to death, except by it. So long as a single tribe had not given its vote, it was allowed to the accused to prevent punishment, by a flight from the city, though his exile extended no further than the neighboring Tiber, or the pleasant city of Naples. By this method, precipitate judgments might be recalled, and the people, who had been influenced by the tribunes, often received back, in triumph, those who had fled, for a time, from their fury. The most glorious days of Metullus and of Cicero were those, when they returned from banishment. This same assembly, which gave executive power, and were the judges of its exercise, held the legislative authority ; but laws were brought before them, according to a decree of the senate, and by the motion of the tribunes. They gave decisive force to declarations of war, or to the treaties which were concluded by the senate.

The Roman people, powerful as they were, and possessing the means of doing the greatest mischief, and of arresting the whole business of the state, never abused their authority, during four hundred years. They never refused support to their country ; they were always noble, magnanimous, proud, full of reverence towards virtue and the laws, and, in all great exigencies, in war, in the forum, or in the field of Mars, worthy of themselves ; until the riches of Asia, and the excessive corruption of the great, deformed their character.

From all this, it appears, how the powers of the state were balanced. A consul, who attempted to govern, without the senate, would have found himself destitute of the means of paying, supporting, or clothing, his soldiers; and the republic fell, when private citizens became rich enough to maintain an army. The senate, only, was permanent; and alone had the power of conferring on the consul, when he marched against the enemy, the supreme command of the forces. In every constitution, a permanent body is useful for maintaining the principles of government. The triumph, the reward of victory, depended on the recognition of the senate, who defrayed the necessary cost. A consul, who adhered solely to the senate, and neglected the people, was hindered by the latter from enjoying the triumph, and all were obliged, finally, to give an account to the people; without which ratification, all the compacts entered into were null and void.

What power had the senate of infringing upon general liberty? The veto of a tribune put an end to its deliberations; the lives of its members depended on the people; and their influence and dignity, which were far dearer to them than their lives, depended on laws which the people could alter. On the other hand, they had two methods of intimidating demagogues: the judicial office was in their hands, and, for a long time, the laws were incomplete and indefinite, and left much to arbitrary decision; secondly, those persons were obliged to have respect to the senate, who took contracts for effecting public works; for forming canals, aqueducts, dams, havens, bridges, roads; for working mines; and for other similar undertakings. Companies, joined by subscription, were accustomed to engage in these affairs, for which they were obliged to give security, and to borrow money from rich men. The senate adjudged every thing, which had relation to such matters, and it was thus easy for an individual to make or ruin his fortune.

The commoner was obliged to respect the consul.

Did he not entirely depend upon him, in war? and what was to be gained, by refusing obedience? A dictator would have been appointed, an authority equally terrible to the enemies of the senate and of Rome.

Thus, their constitution afforded the Romans, in times of need, all the energy of a whole people, and all the rapidity of action, which belongs to a concentrated power, while both were moderated by the wisdom of the senate. In times of peace, while the wheels of government were in collision, occasions of internal commotions frequently occurred, but the balance of power prevented great excesses. Accordingly, there were disquiets, but no disorders; and the perpetual movement only testified the life of the whole body.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ROMANS.

IN the history of every people, our chief observation should be directed to those points, in which they are most distinguished. We learn maritime affairs from the English, mechanical arts from the Dutch, the fine arts at Florence, the moderate enjoyment of liberty in Switzerland, and the art of war from Rome.

The first Roman army was a *legion*, or *selection* from the citizens who were able to bear arms. The troops, which were called legions, varied between the numbers of four thousand two hundred and twelve thousand eight hundred men. Two legions were raised by each consul, before whom the whole people was assembled. In the first place, the military tribunes were named; and no citizen could avoid taking his part in the service, if he had not, before his forty-sixth year, made sixteen campaigns on foot, or ten on horseback. In times of exigency, the foot-soldiers were bound to twenty campaigns. Before a Roman had performed at

least ten, he was not allowed to be a candidate for any public office. The poor had no part in the service, because it was not expedient to intrust the fate of the country to persons who had nothing to lose. An estate of a certain value was also required, in order to be enrolled, by the censors, among the Roman knights, who constituted, in the beginning, the cavalry of the republic. While the levy was carried on in the capitol, at Rome, it was conducted in the like manner in Latium and other countries of the allies, according to the mandate of the consul.

A Roman army seldom contained more than forty thousand men; the supplies and military discipline were therefore easily maintained, while the armed crowds of the Oriental nations wasted their own strength. Rome, indeed, in important wars, maintained several armies, to the end that the ruin of the republic might not be incurred, by one error or misfortune. Yet the force of her armies, in all parts of the empire during the most flourishing times of the Cæsars, never surpassed the number of four hundred thousand men.

The infantry, from the beginning, formed the main strength of the army; for the first wars were carried on, in intersected and hilly tracts, where cavalry were less serviceable. The war on the African plains was indeed very difficult to the Romans, and the light cavalry of the Parthians was never conquered by them. They found, besides, that horses were more easily terrified and thrown into disorder by elephants, camels, and the manifold war-shouts of their various enemies, than infantry, which were well trained to brave all dangers. Infantry was more readily brought to a certain degree of perfection, than cavalry.

The Romans did not consider it necessary that the soldier should be of great stature; large bodies cannot easily support so much fatigue, as those of smaller bulk. The barbarians disdained the small stature of the Roman troops.*

* *Brevitatem corporum nostorum.—Cæsar.* [The shortness of our stature.]

The love for their country, and the great interests that were at stake, gave to the armies of the Romans an impulse, very different from the motives of the Carthaginian and Asiatic soldiery, who fought only for pay.

The legion consisted of two kinds of soldiery; the light-armed troops went before, and the main body followed. The latter, as far as the situation allowed, were drawn out in three lines, called the *Hastarii*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, which were so placed, that each rank might receive the others into its intervals; an order of battle which may be compared to the divisions of a chess-board. Each rank was divided into one hundred and twenty *manipuli*, of which two formed a century, and three, a cohort. The division by centuries was the most ancient; the arrangement by cohorts was introduced by Marius, when he wished to give greater strength to his onset and defence. Each *manipulus*, in the two first ranks, consisted of one hundred and twenty men; and in the third, of half as many. The cohort was thirty strong, in front, and ten deep. Alterations could not fail to be introduced, in the course of so many wars, and during the dominion of the emperors; but the distinguishing principle of the legionary order, that facility in adopting any arrangement suited to circumstances, was ever preserved.

The vacant spaces in the second rank were wide enough to receive the troops of the first; those of the first, to contain the troops of the second; and the intervals of the third and second were in like proportion to the *manipuli* of each. The battle began with the movement of the advanced troops, or of the slingers and bowmen; the latter had wooden arrows, three feet long, armed with iron points, and the former, balls of lead or stone. After these troops had dispersed themselves, on the flanks of the army, the *Hastarii* threw their spears or pikes, which were seven feet long, and had crooked points; these stuck in the shields of the enemy, and impeded his movements. While he was thus engaged, and his lines exposed, the *Hastarii* drew

their swords, of which they often wore two on the right side, while the shield hung on their left arm. The spears, which were a Sabine weapon, and had the name of *Quiris* in the country where they were invented, gave to the Romans, whose distinguishing arms they were, the appellation of *Quirites*. The fate of battles was, however, generally decided by the sword. The second rank was armed like the first, and the *Triarii* bore a pike, longer and lighter than the spear. The cavalry, who were dispersed on the flanks, unless where, as in the Parthian war, they formed a separate troop, bore lances and large sabres. The covering arms of the foot-soldier were, a helmet, reaching down to the shoulder, from which hung a plume; a cuirass, down to the knee; and a light and easily-movable shield, which afforded protection against arrows. The cavalier also had a helmet; he wore a longer shield, a rough coat of mail, and small boots, and the skin of a beast was thrown over his horse. The light troops had, besides the helmet, a very light shield.

The foremost rank, strong in itself and in the confidence of such support, was full of ambition, to obtain the victory by its own valor; the second rank was zealous, in case of need, to give aid to those, in whom Rome had first confided. If the fight came to the third, then were combined patriotism and the thirst of military fame, the fear of punishment and reproach, revenge and hatred, the remembrance of former dangers, and the prospect of future glory. Thus the enemy, already exhausted by a double contest, beheld the Romans ready for a third encounter, stronger, more impetuous, and more formidable. They had hazarded enough for victory, and not so much as to expose them to the risk of a complete defeat. The legion had a front sufficiently extended to render it difficult to outflank it, and sufficient depth to give power to its onset, and to render its ranks hard to penetrate. Palladio, therefore, judged rightly of the Romans, when he said, that "the legion could fight every where and at all

times, while the Macedonian phalanx could only find one time and place where it could exist with advantage."

Sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four heavy-armed foot-soldiers, drawn out in sixteen ranks, forming a front of ten hundred and twenty-four men, with eight thousand one hundred and ninety-two of light infantry and four thousand and ninety-six of cavalry, constituted the complete phalanx of the Macedonians. In the place of the Roman spear, these troops bore pikes twenty-four feet long, with which they were so arranged, that the weapons of the sixth rank reached out three feet beyond the men of the first row. The infantry of the phalanx was divided into sixty-four xenagies, of two hundred and fifty-six each; the cavalry into epilarchies, of one hundred and twenty-eight; the whole body was rendered manageable by the radical number consisting of sixteen, which is susceptible of an easy augmentation or diminution. On the other hand, the pikes could neither be used, nor could so wide a front be drawn out, except on an extensive plain. It was more difficult in its movements, because it stood closer and had fewer intervals, than the legion. The phalanx, indeed, in a country which was suited to it, was more irresistible and impenetrable; but the legion assumed, with facility, various dispositions. Under some great commanders, the phalanx has been drawn out on the plan of the legion, and Marius caused the legion to approximate to the arrangement of the phalanx; the weapons constituted, and ever remained, the chief distinction, and the spear had a manifest advantage over the pike. The light troops called Peltastæ, which Iphicrates borrowed from the Thracians and introduced into the Grecian army, had more resemblance to the Roman legion. The Peltastæ served the Grecian kings for their body-guard. The Ptolemies had, besides, a cavalry like that of our ancestors, so covered with a coat of mail, from head to foot, that their eyes alone were visible. This costume was preserved in Arabia, and appears in the military history of the Mohammedans.

The Roman station was a square, surrounded with a ditch, ten feet deep, and with a wall provided with a breastwork. The wall was built of stones. Strong branches of trees, fixed into the earth, the sharp points of which, hardened by fire, projected obliquely and crossed each other, secured the breastwork. Bastions rose out of it higher than the rest of the rampart, and of a horseshoe form, whence the flanks of the enemy, who was advancing to storm, and his soldiery, who were hidden under penthouses, might be assailed with projectile weapons. In the circumvallation, every post was strong, in itself, so that it was capable of defence, after the loss of the others. In the interior, the whole encampment had the form and disposition of an army standing in battle array. It was fortified, if it were only erected for a single night; since nothing is found to entail misfortune, on great occasions, so surely as the neglect of those which occur every day. The young warriors were exercised not only in the use of arms and in evolutions, but in all that renders the body strong and agile. Thus, they accustomed themselves to all seasons and climates, and while even those of Italy destroyed multitudes of the barbarians, the Italians governed the world, because nothing was to them insupportable. The Roman soldiers were taught to swim through rivers; to keep up with horses, in running; to jump down from their horses and to spring up again, without stopping. They sought to bring the army to that degree of perfection, that no sort of warfare should appear new to it, and no exigency should find it without resources. Thereby they attained that alacrity, that aptitude in exertions, by which the true enjoyment of life is best promoted. To their perseverance, in the perpetual study of that peculiar art of Rome, to their conviction, that it is never to be thoroughly learnt, to their mutual emulation, were they indebted for their unrivalled excellence. May every man follow this example, in the conduct of his life, and in the warfare against himself!

Secrecy was so rigidly observed, that the soldier was often ignorant against what enemy he was to be led, and the spies were even deceived by the appearance of feigned enterprises. The general on the march assumed the appearance of that confidence which he wished to infuse into his army, yet omitted in no instance to watch over every thing with distrust. He rather preferred those movements which seemed most improbable, that the enemy might not be prepared; and the most difficult enterprises, because they awaken all the dormant powers of action. The march proceeded in columns. On approaching the enemy, the order* of battle was assumed, or such a disposition, that four columns, in an insecure country, might receive the baggage into the midst.† On the retreat, two long squares were formed, with bodies of reserve, before and behind, by means of which, in case of pressing need, they drew themselves out crosswise,‡ in order to avoid the weakness of angles. The baggage of the army was not great; every one carried provender; and the machines were prepared on the spot. The marches were difficult, because every thing was hostile; and even the rustics were so much the less to be trusted, as the wars of nation against nation excite a more general interest. Yet, local difficulties were not much dreaded, because they were foreseen, and correct military discipline left it not in the power of the peasantry to commit much injury. Discipline was, besides, necessary for the maintenance of good morals and subordination, for the loss of which, no conquest can make amends. The country people, moreover, whose feelings are open to such impressions, perceived this regularity of conduct, and became favorable to the Romans, by which cause, the procuring of supplies was facilitated. To subdued nations, chiefs were given, who had to thank Rome for every thing, and could not subsist without fidelity.

* Triplici acie. [In triple ranks.]

† Quadrato agmine. [A square troop, or hollow square.]

‡ In orbem. [In a circle.]

They left to the people sufficient opulence, to bind them to their duty with golden chains, knowing that the despair of those, who have lost all, is fertile in resources.

Machiavelli remarked, with justice, that the Romans were fond of short and severe wars.* The battles were bloody; but even the wars between Rome and Carthage were decided in little more than sixty years, while, in later times, the struggle of two great European powers lasted two hundred and eighty years, from the battle of Nancy, without being finally concluded. But the modern states have longer maintained their security, from the nature of their constitutions, and the equality of several great monarchies.

The Roman armies were greedy of battle, yet the conflict was seldom risked, without a good computation of probabilities, and a due regard to the voice of the legions. An influence was obtained over the latter, through the means of inquiries into the will of the gods, by searching the entrails of victims, by the flight of birds, by the vivacity of the sacred fowls, and other signs; but the sacerdotal dignity was connected with the political and military, so that the direction remained in proper hands. These customs were gradually laid aside, on the decline of the old religion.

When, in countries where the genius of man is most fertile in invention, nations, altogether military, labor, during their whole career, in bringing to perfection the art of war, that bulwark of their freedom, that instrument of their glory, and combine every species of craft with the highest degree of valor, what treasures of military observations may be anticipated in their writings! In this respect, they are alike deserving the attention of the warrior, and of him who inquires into the progress and powers of the human mind. Although the modern weapons have been much changed; yet the chief maxims are preserved, especially those which have reference to the unchanging condition of human nature.

* *Corte e grosse.* [Literally, short and thick.]

The Romans exerted themselves, to acquire accurate knowledge of the character of the nations, against whom they had to measure their power and skill. They were contented to await the furious and overwhelming onset of the Gauls; they acted when the enemy began to be exhausted and weary, and with so much the greater energy, as they were aware how quickly the spirit of that people was broken by misfortunes.

When they made choice of a field of battle, they took care to give their own army such a position, that the sun might not dazzle them, but that the splendor of their polished arms might shine, with terrific effect, in the eyes of the enemy.* Short speeches, delivered by the generals, excited the courage of the soldier, upon which, at that time, the event chiefly depended. The orders of battle have been variously described, in the books above quoted, and by Ælian and the Emperor Leo the Sixth. Yet we find, in Leo, this error,—that the wedge-shaped order is represented as ending, at its apex, in a single man. How would it be possible to penetrate the ranks with so weak a point? The wedge† was a column which was discharged suddenly from the lines, and rushed, with all the force of a well-supported mass, against the weakest quarter of the enemy. Against the wedge, the Romans opposed the forceps: the ranks opened, with the greatest rapidity, to receive the wedge, and the troops then marched in, on both sides, fell upon it on the flanks, and committed the greatest slaughter on the column which was thus enclosed, and could not make a retrograde movement, on account of the depth of the lines. As little were they afraid of the half-moon; they feigned a flight, that the centre might be tempted to advance, in order to have a share of the victory. This was not done, without some confusion of its lines; and instantly, they rushed to the close encounter. In the advance, when light troops

* *Δεινὴ ἀστραπή πολέμου*.—*Onosander*. [Terrible coruscations of war.]

† *Cuneus*. [A wedge.]

were wanting, they formed, with their shields, the *testudo*, or figure of the tortoise, which protected the heads and fronts of the first ranks against missile weapons.

From the first triumph of Romulus, to the solemnity which was celebrated on the destruction of Jerusalem, this noble spectacle was three hundred and twenty times the reward of Roman generals. The degrees in the army were very numerous. From the last centurion of the last manipulus of the first line, to the *primipilatus*, there were sixty steps. The choice of the generals did not depend on the number of years of service; often the leader, who had triumphed, served under his successor, and the father under the command of his son; indolence and want of ability were the only obstacles to promotion.

The military tribunes watched over the police of the army, the exercises of the troops, the supplies of provisions, and the hospitals. Their office was, at first, the reward of long services; and it afterwards served as a school for young officers. Each soldier had the number of his legion, cohort, and *decury*, engraved on his helmet. Every man fought among his own countrymen, whose opinion must ever remain, for himself and family, either the best reward or the most inevitable and severe punishment. The old military history is rich in those prodigies of friendship, which the associated enjoyment of the best days of life, and the remembrance of common dangers in war, naturally inspire. With respect to booty, Onosander has well said, that his share of it belongs to the soldier, on the same principle which, in the chase, allots to the hound the blood and entrails of the beast. Another portion was set aside, for the pay of the troops and the sick. The remainder flowed into the treasury, in the temple of Saturn, in order that one war might provide a fund for the next, and that each victory might be made the instrument of another. For some centuries, the warriors acquired no riches for themselves. Paulus Æmilius, when he had deposited in the treasury a sum greater

than forty-five millions of livres, left no marriage-portion for his daughter, nor for his widow the value of her dowry. The conquered land was shared out as a recompense to the soldiery ; and, from the rise of the military colony of Ivrea, or Eporedia, in the sixteenth consulate of C. Marius, no settlements were made on any other plan. The soldier, who had saved the life of a citizen, who had killed his enemy, or maintained his post as long as the contest continued, obtained, as his reward, the civic crown. It was intended, that each man should exert himself as much for his comrade, as for the highest officer, and therefore the same crown was the only reward for saving the life of the general. This badge was worn during life ; and, when a Plebeian entered the theatre with it on his head, the senators arose from their seats, and the parents of the fortunate man obtained an exemption from all taxes. He, who had saved the whole army or the camp, obtained, by the decree of the senate and people, the crown of grass. When the younger Decius, the consul who fell heroically in the war of the Samnites, obtained this honor, he offered to the gods a hundred oxen. L. Siccus Dentatus gained it, after he had fought against the enemy the one hundred and twentieth time. The life of this heroic warrior, his speech to the people, and the shameful manner in which he was brought to his death, by the great, have been described by Dionysius, in a manner worthy of the theme. The law of war was severe, but the general was mild, in order that the former might create dread, and that the love and confidence which the latter inspired might be unmingled. If any man had deserted his post, or thrown away his arms, or fought without orders, or claimed as his own exploits the praiseworthy actions of another, he was publicly tried ; and, if he was found guilty, the commander touched him with his staff, whereupon he had permission to fly, but his comrades were ordered to put him to death. When a whole troop was found guilty of cowardice, it was surrounded by the army : every tenth man was

punished with death, and the rest, being marked with the branding iron, were consigned to perpetual disgrace. In the old times, example, and the name of Rome, had greater power than the laws possessed in the later periods of corruption. Never did the Roman army appear greater, than when their fortune deserted them; for then, they sacrificed every thing to honor. In those days, such an act was not called the effect of prejudice. It appeared honorable to human nature, to uphold a little republic, in a contest against greater power; to render it, by its principles, invincible, flourishing by valor, great by illustrious achievements; to evince constancy, under calamity; vigilance, in prosperity; and ever to hold the grand object steadily in view. Thus was the enervating influence of a southern climate overcome; thus lived the ancients, exalted in the simplicity of their character, in constant energy equal to themselves, full of the thought of transmitting their short existence to the honorable memory of future generations, by imperishable exploits and monuments. The lot of humanity has long ago attained them, but not until they had done every thing, in order to leave Rome victorious and free; not until they had braved the enemy, in the instant of death, and in the last moment enjoyed, by anticipation, the wonder and love of all ages and nations. How enviable was their lot, if, as they hoped, the souls of great men perish not in the dust!

The most eminent of the old writers, on the military affairs of the Romans, have been enumerated above. The ages in which they lived are not difficult to distinguish.

The elder Scipio followed the old style of warfare, which his genius applied to more recent exigencies. As no general fought with so many and such valiant nations as Cæsar, the most various forms appear in his history. He has not so much a peculiar manner, in his military dispositions, as the possession, in himself, of all the secrets of the art; the perpetual exercise of his genius, in the greatest affairs and most extensive schemes, elevated him above all particulars.

CHAPTER IX.

AUTHORS WHO HAVE WRITTEN PARTICULARLY ON THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ROMANS.

THE great examples which we have been contemplating were illustrated by Niccolo Machiavelli, at the revival of letters, and set before his contemporaries, in a work, which displays much reflection, and abounds with eloquence. Few modern authors have written so clearly, and in so simple and dignified a style. He excited the attention of skilful generals, in France and Italy. Some alterations were adopted in the armies, but they were neither complete, nor conducted on sound principles.

The writings of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and of the Duke de Rohan, prove, equally, the great ability of the authors, and the imperfect state of the military art, as it existed in their times.

The captains who were formed under Gustavus Adolphus understood better the manner of that great commander, than the works of antiquity, by the study of which they might have made a further progress.

The first great work, written with this view, was the production of the French Chevalier de Folard,* who combined a glowing imagination with fine acquisitions of knowledge. He believed in the miracles of his columns as devoutly as in those of Jansenism; but his books contain very sound observations.

Puysegur† was older, but his works appeared later.

* The Chevalier de Folard was the author of several works on the art of war, the most celebrated of which was his 'Commentaries on Polybius,' in six volumes, 4to. The chief peculiarity in his method consisted in the system of columns, which he developed in his writings. He was connected with those who supported the pretended miracles of the Abbé Paris.—*T.*

† The Marquis de Puysegur, Marshal of France, was the author of a celebrated work on the 'Military Art,' which was published after his death.—*T.*

He was a writer of cooler temperament, and therefore more secure of his ground ; but wanted a fundamental acquaintance with the ancients.

Marshal Saxe studied, diligently, Polybius and Vegetius, (in French ;) and Onosander's book was his breviary. He formed his opinion of the ancients, with that correct judgement which was his peculiar talent ; he often arrived at the same principles which are found among the Romans, and, in many respects, deserves to be compared to the Roman warriors.

The military inquiries of Charles Guiscard, whom Frederick called Quintus Icilius, are superior in learning to all earlier productions, and are necessary for improving the translations from the ancients. There is, on the other hand, a variety of suggestions in his works, which would not have remained without answers, if this laborious nobleman had enjoyed a longer life.

The letters of the Chevalier Algarotti, in reference to these subjects, are written in the best taste. His opinions were, for the most part, those of the monarch* whose friendly conversation he enjoyed.

CHAPTER X.

THE MANNERS OF THE ROMANS.

THOUGH so many nations beheld the rise and dominion of Rome, and contemplated her greatness with envy and wonder, yet was Rome never the object of imitation. Nothing, indeed, in the course of human affairs, is to be obtained by single and separate efforts ; every phenomenon has its period, fixed by a thousand connected circumstances ; and Roman tactics, without Roman manners, could never have maintained, so long, the freedom, or extended, so widely, the dominion, of the state.

* Frederick the Great.

The city of Rome, after it was rebuilt, (for the Gauls burnt the greater part of it,) was gradually improved; yet it always contained many houses of wood and many of bricks; the streets were irregular, for the most part narrow, and the houses very high. The law, that none of those in the principal streets should exceed seventy feet in height, was introduced in the time of Augustus, who established regulations for security against fires. The oldest work, that has been maintained from the time of the kings to the present day, are the astonishing Cloacæ, which preserved the cleanliness of the city; cleanliness, indeed, was a point of religion, amongst the nations of antiquity. The aqueducts remain, from the time of the consuls; the town had, within its walls, only the fountain of Juturna. The modern Rome is built on the site of the ancient field of Mars, a spot no less venerable than the Olympic Stadium, where the Romans practised the gymnastic exercises, which, as among the Greeks, contributed not a little to their military fame.

At the beginning of the consulate, the city was about as populous as it is now. It afterwards extended itself so widely, that the neighboring towns became suburbs to it. Although Lucan's expression, that it was capable of containing the whole human race,* is doubtless the bold exaggeration of a poet, it is yet certain, that the extent of the city was wonderfully great. Pliny says, in reproach, that the kitchens, in the palaces of the great, occupied as much ground, as formed, in earlier times, the estate of a citizen. The manners of antiquity were only to be traced in books, and in the lives of a few senators.

The old Romans were warlike husbandmen, equally occupied, in time of peace, in making conquests over the nature of the soil, which was originally sterile, and in subduing their enemies, during war. Every individual cultivated his two acres, which was as much land as

* "*Generis humani coëat si turba capacem.*" [Capable of containing the human race, if they come together in a body.]

a yoke of oxen could plough in two days. The Lentuli, the Pisones, the Fabii, obtained from the lentils, the pulse, the beans, which they were noted for cultivating with skill, those surnames, which were afterwards joined to titles derived from the nations they had conquered. They wore clothes, prepared by their wives and daughters, from the fleeces and skins of their herds. The robes made by Queen Tanaquil, for the first Tarquin, were preserved in the time of the Cæsars; and the imperial Augustus wore vestments, which were woven by the hands of Livia. The ancients may rather be said to have possessed property than riches;* oxen held the place of money. Pieces of gold, representing the value of the oxen which were engraven on them,† were coined by order of King Servius; but silver money was not invented till two centuries after the consulate was established. Territorial domains constituted the riches of the state, and were let out for a rent, which increased the public stock. Within three centuries and a half, enough land had been brought, by consular labor, into cultivation, and enough conquered, in addition, to distribute seven acres to each citizen. Afterwards, when the neighboring states were depopulated by wars, and many of their inhabitants had resorted to Rome, the landholders so greatly increased their possessions, that, on the proposal of Licinius Stolo, five hundred acres were allowed to one citizen. As conquests were multiplied, moderation was lost sight of. Hence the laws of the Gracchi, the pretext of factious attempts which entailed ruin on the republic. At length, Italy, which, if frugally cultivated, would have required no foreign aid, became a mere pleasure-garden, for the enjoyment of the great, and depended, for sustenance, on the harvests of Ætna, Sardinia, and the banks of the Nile. The kings of the earth had no bread to eat, and it was not till the time of Augustus, that they learnt to establish magazines.

* Locupletes. [Landed property.]

† Hence named Pecunia, from Pecus, a flock.

In the bosom of rural life, the greatest generals, the most valiant warriors, and the best citizens, were formed; the thirty-one tribes of rustics were so much more esteemed, that it was almost considered ignominious to belong to the four city tribes. It was thus that Curius was bred, who disdained the offers of the King of Epirus; while, crowned with laurels, he put his hand again to the plough, to cultivate his four acres of land on the Vatican hill. With the same spirit he declared, in the forum, that he must be a bad Roman, for whom ten acres were not an ample possession. Thus lived Attilius Regulus, who terrified the proud Carthage with the arms of his country, and who possessed no other property than one of the most barren pieces of ground in the Roman territory. The censors knew not how to give the best senator a nobler testimony, than that he was also a frugal husbandman and a good father of his family.

The conquests of Rome thus contributed to the culture of western Europe; the agriculturists who overcame the great Antiochus, the proud Philip, and Mithridates, brought many kinds of pulse and many fruit-trees into Italy. Accordingly, apples, cherries, and many other fruits, were, in a few generations, propagated as far as Britain. From Rome, the olive-tree was brought into Spain and Gaul. In the North, the Romans planted the first fields of pulse. Flowers were their delight, and their houses had no other ornaments than flower-pots placed in the windows. Wine, in the time of the Samnite war, was yet poured by drops on the altars, and no man blamed Mecianus for putting his wife to death, because she had drunk wine without his knowledge. But, so generously did Italy repay the care of the husbandman, that more than eighty sorts of country wine became celebrated. The generals and senators followed, in their country-seats, occupations which were suited to their genius. As the Achæan Philopœmen, in every walk, proposed to his young friends problems on military positions, and exercised their quickness of discernment, so Marius was seen to

lay out his Misenian estate after the manner of an encampment. Military discipline, political wisdom, popularity, and temperance, found their sphere of action in domestic affairs. In general, the ancients were frugal of time, and they were thus enabled to accomplish what, according to our manners, requires more than one life.

In this point of view, it might be maintained, that they were longer lived. Life is the conscious feeling, the enjoyment of our faculties, which the exercise of them, alone, can give. However, the number of healthy old men in Italy was uncommonly great. In a small tract of country, in the reign of Vespasian, fifty-four persons were enumerated, who had attained their hundredth year; forty, who were between the hundred and tenth and hundred and fortieth; and two individuals who had lived above a century and a half. It is well known that persons were appointed to read aloud, at the table and at the bath, in order that even that portion of time, which was devoted to the body, might not be altogether lost for the mind. There were no common societies of both sexes. The games were barbarous, but magnificent; and, by means of them, all classes, old men and both sexes, were rendered familiar with blood, with death, and the most terrific scenes. They beheld the art of man matched in contest with the strength of the most ferocious beasts, as in the games in which Pompey set loose, at once, six hundred lions into the arena, and in those in which Augustus brought to view four hundred and twenty panthers. The Romans were less afraid of that brutality, which is in itself revolting, than of enervating softness, which appears attractive and half meritorious, while it deprives the mind of all energy and vigor.

Every kind of trade was allowed to the Carthaginians; in Rome, it was only permitted to slaves. That corruption, so fashionable in Greece, was held most disgraceful at Rome, till an unbounded opulence imparted a degree of boldness, that brooked no restraint.

At the funerals, the bodies of the chief citizens were brought into the forum, dressed in their robes of state, and placed before the rostrum; a son or near relative of the deceased pronounced an oration on the common loss which had been sustained; the orator beheld, in long rows upon their curule seats, the images of his forefathers clothed in their consular, pretorian, or triumphal, robes. What generous citizen would have refused to die for a people, in whose remembrance he was to live for ever?

The fear of the gods maintained itself more than six hundred years. Polybius justly remarked, that "wise men do not stand in need of superstition, but that cities are inhabited by a populace." He confesses, that, when a man lent a sum of gold to a Greek, the tenfold subscription of his name, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, were often found insufficient to prevent him from attempting to defraud; while at Rome, in the management of the greatest sums, malversations were at that time unheard of, and fraud was there as uncommon, as integrity and confidence, elsewhere: "but Athens," continues he, "was, from the beginning, like a noble ship without a rudder; and Carthage is now, what Rome will hereafter become; for Rome herself will be ruined by riches. The people will then be contented with nothing, and will fall under the yoke of demagogues, who will pretend to bestow every thing upon them."

Thus far, on the military discipline, on the laborious life, on the dignity and greatness, of the Romans; of whom it is as difficult to restrain our eulogiums, as to find matter for commendation in the history of other nations. Hereafter, we shall contemplate the empire of the Arabs. But the latter was founded on an unequal contest of religious enthusiasm against nations degraded by superstition, disunited, and oppressed by tyrants. We shall see Attila domineer from the Caspian lake to the plains of Chalons, and the Mongols from the sea of Japan to the Silesian forests; but the

former shone and vanished, like a meteor of the air, and the latter were soon reduced within narrow limits. The Romans, after the war of Pyrrhus, overran all the countries which extend from Loch-Lomond, the Elbe, the Carpathian chain, and the borders of Russia, to the country of frankincense and myrrh, and the regions where the life of Nature is extinguished in wastes of sand; yet, at the end of five hundred and forty-nine years, they had not lost a single province.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.—CISALPINE GAUL.—DALMATIA.

THE great cities of Sicily, for the most part exhausted by factions, had been obliged to suffer the half of that island to fall under the sway of Carthage, and the remainder was threatened by her arms. [B. C. 404.] Six years after the Sicilian war of Athens, Syracuse had fallen under the usurpation of Dionysius, one of the most able party leaders. This man, the son of a citizen of the highest estimation, was eminently skilled in all the arts of which tyrants avail themselves, in order to found their usurpation on specious pretences and important public services. His fault was an inordinate love of power, in consequence of which, Dionysius clouded his own virtues, and precipitated the best citizens into indescribable calamities. After a very long administration, he left to a son, of the same name, a sovereignty, protected by an army of one hundred thousand foot-soldiers, ten thousand cavalry, and a fleet of five hundred ships.

[B. C. 367.] The younger Dionysius did not inherit the strong understanding and talents of his father. His rival, Dion, and afterwards, Timoleon, the Corinthian, took advantage of his weakness, to destroy a sovereignty, hated by the people; but passions and bad

morals quickly debased the noble work of newly-acquired freedom, and Agathocles made himself master of Syracuse.

This man, whose juvenile years had been stained by great excesses, displayed, as chief of Syracuse, eminent talents, as well for military command as for the government of the multitude. He was the terror of the domestic enemy of his power, and of the Carthaginians. When the latter had defeated and believed him almost their captive, he suddenly carried the terror of his arms before the walls of Carthage, pointing out the way to the future enterprises of the Romans. After a long and illustrious reign, of which his uncommon talents rendered him worthy, Agathocles died, in extreme old age, after the loss of his beloved son, and amidst the visible ruin of his power, in a state so lamentable and destitute, that, in spite of his tyranny, his misery excites compassion. [B. C. 277.]

The Syracusans, alike incapable of enjoying liberty and of submitting to be deprived of it, called in the King of Epirus. After Pyrrhus abandoned Sicily, all the political relations of its people became so confounded, that the Syracusans allied themselves with their own most formidable enemies, the Carthaginians, in oppressing the Mamertines, who maintained themselves at Messina. [B. C. 263.] The latter had the Romans for their allies, and hence the origin of the first Punic war.

Rome, with all the power of Italy, waged this war against the greatest commercial city of the world, which held under its sway the warlike population of Spain, the formidable cavalry of Africa, the fruitful plains of Sicily, and many other islands and coasts. The virtue of Carthage was already on the decline; but she had yet Hamilcar, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and sufficient power to support the enterprises of these great generals.

As the Romans had never carried on a maritime war, they now sought to make the best use of the method of fighting, in which they had become so illustrious. They fought from the decks of their ships, and laid

hold of the vessels of the enemy, by means of grappling irons, boarded them, and terminated the battle in close conflict. The Carthaginians were brought, by the inventive genius of Rome, into an embarrassment, similar to that of the regularly-trained fighter, when assailed by the unruly boldness and address of an untaught adversary. The Carthaginian ships were better as trading vessels than as ships of war; they were defeated by Duillius. The defenceless colonies of Carthage were conquered, and Regulus appeared at the gates of the capital. There, Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, who had entered into the service of the republic, assisted the Africans, and the valiant Consul was overcome by his superior tactics. Wherever the Carthaginians fought by themselves, they were beaten, and Hamilcar Barcas was alone able to resist; but a decisive defeat, in the seas of the Ægatian isles, reduced the commonwealth to the necessity of making peace. [B. C. 240.] Carthage was obliged to resign Sicily, and the Romans soon took possession of Corsica and Sardinia.

In the history of the first Punic War, we observe in the Roman generals more courage than science, and this confirms the opinion, that their military skill had scarcely begun to display itself in the wars against Pyrrhus and the Samnites. Carthage, whose whole power depended on mercenary troops, had to contend with an important rebellion, which broke out among them after the conclusion of the peace, and scarcely were the talents and influence of Hamilcar sufficient to save the republic from destruction. Hamilcar was a general who possessed great perseverance and sagacity, and was the warm friend of his country.

After this war, the Romans conquered Cisalpine Gaul. This country lay between the Alps and the Apennine mountains; it extended to the mouths of the Po, and reached to a considerable distance, on the other side of that river. The Apennine elevates itself, as an arm of the Alps, from the tract where the Alps themselves begin, and takes a course eastward from the mouths of

the Varo to the Modenese ; thence it turns towards the south, and divides Italy into two parts, forming a ridge, which may be compared, not with the Alps, but with the Jura, their northern arm, and which contains many traces of ancient fire, such as the Jura does not exhibit. The valley of Cisalpine Gaul was very marshy, and productive, as far as its inhabitants knew how to avail themselves of its natural fertility. The Gauls inhabited many cities of the Etruscans. The Ligurians were their neighbors, on the mountains where Monaco, Oneglia, Genoa, and Modena, now stand. These were a northern nation, important by their local situation, of no great power, but so active and cunning, that it was difficult to be secure against them. Another ancient people, the Veneti, at the mouth of the Po, seem to have passed down from the forests of Germany, the ancient abode of the Vandals.

Rome waged many wars with the Gauls and Ligurians ; and against the former, they were more successful. The latter often seemed to be subdued ; but, confiding in themselves and their mountains, renewed the contest. Pasturage and mercenary warfare were their profession ; and their mountains abound in the most inaccessible fastnesses.

The Romans subdued, also, the coasts of Liburnia and Dalmatia, extending from the termination of the Alps, in Istria, towards Epirus. The mountains which were difficult to penetrate remained independent.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Soon afterwards, the most formidable general, whom Rome ever saw opposed to her, disputed the rewards of her five centuries of victory. In the army which Hamilcar commanded in Spain, for the defence of the

mines and the subjugation of the wild inhabitants, far from the mean factions which destroyed the vigor of his country, he formed his son Hannibal in military discipline, in the knowledge of men, in the choice of advantageous positions, and in the bitter hatred of Rome, [B. C. 228,] to the perpetual encouragement of which passion he bound him, at an early age, by a solemn oath. After the death of Hamilcar and his successor Hasdrubal, the army proclaimed this young warrior, who had then reached his twenty-sixth year, their general. [B. C. 220.] Soon afterwards, he made an attack on the Saguntines, who were allies of the Romans. The senate, instead of intimidating Carthage by a sudden rupture, undertook the method of mediation. The Saguntines, after a long and vain resistance, set fire to their city, and, assembling themselves, died by their own hands. Hannibal, more and more inflamed, procured a declaration of war; and, as the Romans had carried their arms to the walls of his paternal city, he now resolved, in turn, to attack them in Italy. He went over the Pyrenees, traversed Gaul to the confluence of the Saone with the Rhone, proceeded through the country of the Allobroges to the Alps, passed by a scarcely-trodden path over the lofty Viso, and suddenly appeared in the plains of Turin. The Romans had not yet learnt how to fight, in such a country, in subduing which, they had not acquired sufficient experience. They waited for the enemy on the lower and usual road towards the sea and the Apennines, where it was possible to resist his progress. Hannibal's greatest art was the choice of advantageous situations, which he had learnt from his childhood, among the deserts and mountains of Castile.

[B. C. 216.] He defeated the Romans, from the banks of the Ticino to Apulia, in four battles, which would have been ruinous to any other republic. What contributed to this calamity, was, that Rome, since the first Punic contest, scarcely employed with wars of less importance, had given herself up entirely to her internal affairs. Popular favor bestowed offices, which required

merit, on Plebeians, who opposed the senate, but who had not ability to resist Hannibal. Fabius, alone, saw through the secret of the progress of the Carthaginians. He was eminent, in the same art; and, being a man of great understanding, of advanced age, and of remarkable temper and moderation, he was able to restrain the impetuosity of others. The Romans had been defeated, by their own fault; for, in the army of the enemy, the wisdom of Hannibal was the only circumstance that was truly formidable. After the slaughter of Cannæ, a calamity, like that which the Athenians suffered in Sicily, like the battle of Leuctra, or the great defeat of the host of Darius, by Alexander, the counsels of Fabius were followed, who was satisfied with keeping his enemy employed. From that time, Hannibal loitered, thirteen years, in Italy, without performing any of those exploits, which the first terror of his arms had announced. Fortune scarcely crowned his efforts, in determining, for a time, in his favor, the allies of Rome. He was frequently unsuccessful. [B. C. 211.] Syracuse, which, after death terminated the long reign of the wise King Hiero, had opposed itself to Rome, was taken by Marcellus, at the end of a memorable siege. Hannibal was often obliged to remain, for a time, inactive; yet, though he was ill supported by Carthage, he maintained himself, in Italy, for the most part, at the expense of the invaded country.

For a long time, the Romans contented themselves with resisting his attacks; at length, a youth, educated amid dangers, rescued them, and decided the fate of the contest. Scipio, as a warrior, is worthy of holding the next place to Cæsar; as a man and a citizen, he stands before him. His military skill, and the purity of his life, gained him as strong a hold on the veneration of men, as that conqueror held in their affections, by the gentleness of his manners. The army received his orders as oracles; they well knew that Scipio undertook nothing, without the advice of the gods. After he had saved the life of his father, in the first battle against the

Carthaginians, and the latter had fallen, together with his brother, in fighting against the African host, in Spain, Scipio resolved to avenge the shades of these warriors, and the cause of his country. His splendid virtues induced the old senators to lay aside their jealousies, and permit this youth to assume the command, in the greatest war in which Rome was ever engaged. The same qualities gave him a victory over the corruption which had crept into the army; and twelve thousand women were banished by him from the camp. His own self-command, and his good fortune, in the most difficult enterprises, inspired the army with such confidence in him, that, before him, no enemy was looked upon as invincible. Accordingly, while the genius of Archimedes labored, in vain, to protect by inventions the city of Syracuse, against the Romans; while Gracchus again conquered the island of Sardinia, and Hannibal's last resource, the reenforcements brought by his brother Hasdrubal, were destroyed by Tiberius Nero; Scipio drove the enemy out of all his possessions, in Spain, passed over the strait, and appeared in Africa.

Hannibal, with his declining army, still remained in Italy, when Carthage summoned him to her own defence; for Massinissa, the most powerful chieftain of the country, had become the ally of Scipio. In the seventeenth year from his passage over the Alps, Hannibal left Italy, without having gained, after so many victories, one place from the Romans, whence it was possible to give them further molestation. Soon afterwards, the two generals, in the plains of Zama, fought a battle, which was to decide the contest of the two republics. Scipio opposed the flower of his troops to the weaker part of the enemy, that early success might inspirit his army, and give him an opportunity of falling on the flank of the best soldiers of Hannibal, while, in the mean time, a part of the troops who pursued the fugitives might return, in time to attack the rear of those who yet stood their ground. On a similar plan, Hannibal designed, by means of his elephants, to break through

the Roman lines, and then to bring his army to action, at once, on all sides. Scipio penetrated into this intention, and opposed a light-armed infantry to the elephants. The elephants broke loose, impetuously, and the Roman light troops made evolutions to right and left, with the greatest rapidity ; their violent course not being checked by the guides, these animals rushed furiously forwards, and ran, without committing any injury, through the intervals which the Roman soldiery opened for them.

The troops immediately closed again, when they had passed, and their General now developed his plan, with that presence of mind for which he was remarkable. [B. C. 201.] In the five hundred and fiftieth year from the building of Rome, Publius Cornelius Scipio, in a decisive battle, conquered Carthage, the only republic capable of contending, with effect, against the increasing greatness of Rome.

Nothing was left for the Carthaginians, but to sue for peace ; their city and its proper territory remained to them, with such security as a disarmed republic can hope for in the neighborhood of another, which seldom forgot former dangers. They were obliged to give up their ships, and abstain from future wars ; all Numidia was given to their enemy, Massinissa, who watched them with suspicion, and insulted them with impunity.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN WARS.

NEXT to Hannibal, Philip, king of Macedonia, a descendant of Antigonus Gonatas, was the most important enemy of Rome, as long as he had the aid of the Illyrians, or was able to alarm Italy with the maritime power of Greece. He committed the error of leaving Carthage, with which he was in alliance, without sup-

port, while he employed himself, unprofitably, with lesser contests in Greece. The Greeks, in other respects learned, were too poor, in their knowledge of foreign affairs, to foresee consequences; they were too proud of their ancient victories, to attach any importance to what was going on among strangers. At the same time, Philip had rendered himself contemptible and odious, by his licentiousness and tyranny, and had forfeited confidence, by failing in his engagements. He weakened himself by exciting among the Ætolians and Athenians apprehensions for their independence, instead of uniting all Greece in one common cause. Philip was capable of great exertion: cunning and vigilance were not wanting to him; and, as a general, he knew how to turn to good account the natural advantages of his country; but, when the Romans came to the aid of Grecian liberty, (for such was their profession,) it appeared, at Cynoscephalæ, that Philip knew not how to render his phalanx sufficiently manageable, in an intersected country, and he was accordingly defeated.

[B. C. 196.] As the Romans had granted independence to the city of Carthage, so they proclaimed the freedom of Greece, knowing, that from the Grecian towns neither union nor any permanent exertions were to be apprehended. They became lords of the world, without suffering it to appear, and without seeming to conquer. If the Romans had adhered to this principle, they might have remained poor and powerful, free and irresistible, at the summit of human affairs.

As Macedonia had been conquered, because the King, instead of waging war, in alliance with Hannibal, had deferred it, until the Romans were able to fall upon him, with all their power, so Asia was still more easily subdued, because it had taken no part in the fate of Macedonia.

Thoas was the leader of the Ætolians, that people, whose restless spirit had distracted Greece, and who, by their connexion with Rome, entailed the most immi-

nent peril on all their neighbors. Thoas thought himself not sufficiently repaid for the services he had afforded the Romans, and sought to excite the jealousy of Antiochus, the descendant of Seleucus, against the common enemy of all monarchs.

From the ruins of old Troy, to the Caucasus and the furthest confines of Media, the whole of Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Lesser Asia, belonged to Antiochus the Great. Scarcely did he feel that the Parthians were no longer under his sway: the most beautiful, the most populous and flourishing provinces of the earth obeyed him. The first part of his reign had shone with glory, and he was by far the most powerful monarch of Asia. His activity only had diminished, with increasing age. Antioch was one of the most voluptuous cities in the world; and there, the great Antiochus slumbered, under the laurels of his earlier years. At this time, Hannibal fled to his court. A faction, which had labored, with keen animosity, in opposition to his father's house, had succeeded, with the aid of the Romans, in forcing this warrior to leave Carthage, when he was attempting, by the removal of many abuses, to restore to the republic her internal strength. He supported Thoas, and they jointly succeeded in engaging Asia in a contest against the power of Rome.

Alexander's *Argyraspidæ* had long survived, only in name. Pomp prevailed in the place of true greatness; insubordination, effeminacy, and the arts of a court, had their seat at Antioch; and, after war was declared, the counsels of Hannibal were not listened to, with respect to the manner of conducting it. Crowned with garlands, surrounded with eunuchs, marching to the music of the flute and lyre, the great Antiochus went forth out of Asia, on his elephant, covered with splendid trappings, at the head of four hundred thousand men. In silken and purple tents, before richly-covered tables, and in the arms of voluptuousness, he expected to triumph over those whom Hannibal and Philip had not been able to withstand. Accordingly,

Acilius Glabrio and Lucius Scipio, brother of the great Scipio, easily forced him, after he had been expelled from Greece, by the battle of Thermopylæ, [B. C. 189,] and had suffered, at Magnesia, a decisive defeat, to purchase peace, at the price of Lesser Asia, as far as as Mount Taurus, and by surrendering half his ships.

Yet the Romans preferred bestowing kingdoms, to the possession of them, and they were contented to be simply conquerors. After having humbled, in Galatia, the hereditary ferocity of those Gauls, who, a century before, had terrified Macedonia, they gave a great part of Lesser Asia to their ally, the King of Pergamus.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATE OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO.

GENEROUS as the senate was, towards the humbled confederacies of hostile states, it was equally watchful of all the movements of Hannibal, who wandered over the world, seeking to stir up enemies against the name of Rome. He was at the court of Prusias, the base, avaricious, timid King of Bithynia, when his surrender was demanded by the Romans. He then took poison, which he had for many years carried about him, that he might never suffer a fate unworthy of Hannibal. Such was the reward which he received from Fortune, for having broken through the Alps, for having gained the battles of Ticinus, of Trebiæ, of the Thrasymene lake, and of Cannæ; but, in the hour of death, he was consoled by foreseeing the calamities of Rome hastened by a too rapid career of conquest, and by reflecting, that his own name would be handed down to eternal memory, among those illustrious captains who fought valiantly, with the forces of a debased and falling state, against an enemy flushed with victory, and in the full energy of youth.

About the same time, his victorious rival gave way to the malignity of faction. Scipio abandoned Rome, which he had saved, and lived at his country-house, near Liternum, in that personal dignity, which envy could not take away from him. He died there ; and a belief remained among the inhabitants of the place, that, after the gods, whom he revered, had taken his great soul into their own society, a serpent lay concealed among the myrtles in whose shade he had reposed, and guarded the approach to his sacred ashes.

CHAPTER XV.

CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA.

THE Romans forgave the Ætolians ; they conquered the islands in the Adriatic Sea, and reduced the rebellious Istria to a more complete subjection. In the mean time, Philip had sacrificed the worthiest of his sons to the insidious calumnies of Perseus, in consequence of whose base artifices, he died of grief, in forlorn old age. [B. C. 178.] The same Perseus, in order to gain the affections of the Macedonians, after pursuing, for a long time, a system of measures, which were not devoid of policy, excited a war against his hereditary enemies, in which he flattered himself, not without some appearance of success, until the Romans began to enter seriously into the conflict, to restore the ancient celebrity of the Macedonian arms. But Paulus Æmilius, the general of the republic, overcame the apparently-invincible obstacles which forests and mountains opposed to his progress. A sudden panic seized the King, who abandoned his kingdom in the critical moment : he knew not how to die, but delivered himself a captive. Macedonia was declared a free country, under the protection of Rome, [B. C. 166 ;] and, in the one hundred and fifty-fifth year after the death of Alexander the

Great, the last successor of his throne was led to Rome, following the triumph of the conqueror, where he died, in most abject degradation. The riches of Epirus rewarded the Roman army for the rigid discipline they had been obliged to observe in Macedonia.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

ABOUT this time, factions, which broke out in Carthage, prepared the destruction of that republic. Forty exiled senators implored the aid of King Massinissa, to effect their restoration. This chief was ninety-six years old, father of forty-four sons, king of many wandering tribes of warlike people, the author of rich and extensive culture, amid deserts which seemed destined to perpetual sterility, the able and constant ally of Rome. The Carthaginians rejected his interference, the ruling faction fearing for themselves. When the affair was referred to the Romans, the senate decreed according to the wishes of Massinissa, and the Carthaginians would not submit, for their demagogues had every thing to fear, and had resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of the republic.

At this time, M. Porcius Cato, an old man, swayed the decisions of the senate. Born at Tusculum, in the vicinity of Rome, he was bred up in the country, till, at the age of seventeen, he entered the military service. As military tribune, quæstor, ædile, prætor of Sardinia, twice consul, and proconsul in Spain, he had maintained so upright a character, that he was able to baffle forty-four accusations brought against him, by envious persons, before the people. In the censorship, or investigation of public and private morals, he was chiefly celebrated for his firmness. He was by far the most learned man in the law and history of his country, one

of the most eloquent orators of his age, and an excellent private citizen. With the severity of ancient virtue, Cato combined as many accomplishments, as were suitable to the dignity of a Roman senator. But, although he had, in many other matters, a penetrating and upright judgement, he was, in one particular, like other old men, with whom the earliest impressions of youth remain the most vivid, through life. Cato, after the lapse of seventy years, could not forget that Hannibal had threatened Rome with his arms. Whenever he spoke in the senate, though concerning far different matters, he always introduced this sentence: "It is my judgement, that Carthage must be destroyed."

Widely different was the opinion of the Scipios. He, who, at that time, imparted new splendor to this great name, was a son of Paulus Æmilius, whom a son of the conqueror of Zama had adopted in his old age. He joined to the spotless virtue of his own father the amiable character of the elder Scipio, and to the heroic spirit, that shone forth in both of them, a more extended knowledge and greater refinement, than could be attained in earlier times. Scipio Nasica possessed great weight in the senate, through his wisdom and rectitude.

The Scipios opposed themselves to the proposal of destroying the only city which, by the remembrance of former dangers, might restrain the Romans from yielding to the sway of their passions. It was to be foreseen, that the energy of Rome would decline, when no object existed that could excite her apprehension. The sentiment of justice and humanity might also plead in favor of the unhappy Carthaginians. The younger Scipio had a noble character; his life might seem to justify the common report, "that he had never said or done any thing, that was not deserving of praise." He was the intimate friend of Lælius; he admired Polybius, who resided at his house; and we are partly indebted to him for those masterpieces of comedy, by which Terence rivalled the fame of the Attic theatre. Scipio was the friend of the author, and assisted him in his composition.

In the senate, as it often happens, in such bodies, the honest manner of Cato, whom every one understood, and whose views coincided with the various passions of his hearers, produced a greater impression than what Scipio Nasica, or the younger Scipio, said, with more profound reflection ; and it was resolved to proceed to the last extremities.

Accordingly, the surrender of all the ships, which the Carthaginians had built, contrary to the stipulations of the last treaty, was demanded, under the pretext, that their armament violated the peace existing between the two countries. They gave them up, and the ships were burnt before their eyes. Hereupon, they were commanded, in a body, to leave their paternal city, and build a new town in the interior of Africa, far from the seacoast. When the assembly of the people heard this order, they were struck with the utmost despair ; every man voted for war, and the senate swore to perish with Carthage. One of the suffetes gave his opinion, that they ought to yield to destiny, and he was stoned to death, in the midst of the assembly. All the wood that could be collected was now brought to the docks, for the building of a new fleet ; they spared neither the houses of the lower town, nor any wooden implement. All the gold and silver, all the metal belonging to the great, the ornaments of the tombs of the magistrates and warriors, and the sacred vessels, the treasures of the temples, the ploughs, reaping-hooks, and all the tools of handicraft, that could be dispensed with, were melted down, and made into arms. The women cut off their hair, to weave ropes and cordage for the ships ; every person, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, expended all his substance, for the great and venerable Carthage. Wonderfully did the Carthaginians resist, even in the third year. Two walls were stormed, and a third still held out. When the haven was lost, they dug another ; and suddenly, a new fleet made its appearance, and obtained a victory. The legions were more than once defeated. King Massinissa, in the

mean time, died, and Scipio divided his kingdom between his sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal.

Scipio, alone, found resources against the inventions of despair. At Rome, he had sought the office of ædile, or inspector of architecture, and was chosen consul, before he had attained the age appointed by law. He came to Africa, and, in the third year of this lamentable war, he penetrated, by night, into the last haven. Even after this irreparable loss, the citizens would not surrender, but fought, six days and six nights, on the shore and in the upper streets, for the now unfortified city. [B. C. 145.] At length, a party declared for the Romans; and, at the same instant, the town was set on fire by the hands, as it appears, of its own citizens, that the seat of the ancient republic and of so lasting an empire, might not become a subject town, under the dominion of Rome. Hasdrubal, a chief citizen, went over to the enemy: his wife saw him, and, embracing her children, exclaimed, "Live, Hasdrubal, if thou canst dare to survive Carthage!" and she threw herself, with her two infants, among the flames of her burning palace. Many persons killed themselves, on the graves of their forefathers, the monuments of the heroes, and in the citadel, among the temples of the gods. Seventeen days, the flames devoured this city, the habitation of seven hundred thousand people, which had flourished and domineered a thousand years, and at length reduced it to a heap of smouldering ruins.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ACHÆAN WAR.

AFTER the conquest of Macedonia, the Greeks perceived how much more formidable to their independ-

* It is a late conjecture, that the city of Tombuctoo, discovered in our time, in the midst of Africa, may have been founded by Carthaginians, who escaped from the conflagration of their city.

ence the Roman republic was, than the king whom they had labored to dethrone. The Romans, after quelling an attempt, made by Andriscus, for the restoration of the Macedonian kingdom, soon sought to acquire secure possession of all the strong places in Greece, and they demanded of the Achæan confederacy, all the fortresses, which the King had formerly possessed in the Peloponnesus. The embassy, by which this proposal was sent, was treated with insult, by the populace of Corinth, and this aggression seemed to afford sufficient pretence for declaring war.

Achaia fought, in vain, with the heroic spirit of ancient Greece ; every thing yielded to the powerful and well-commanded legions. Critolaus, the chief of the confederacy, could only avoid a shameful submission by voluntary death. Yet his successor, Diæus, dared, like another Leonidas, to defend, with six hundred and fourteen valiant men, the Corinthian isthmus. All things were carried away, by the stream of fortune. Diæus retired into his country, assembled his family, distributed poison to his wife and children, took his share of it, himself, and perished, together with them. Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, adorned with the innumerable splendid works which the luxury and arts of the finest ages of Greece had produced. In the nine hundred and fifty-fifth year after the building of this city, in the same year as Carthage, Corinth was plundered and burnt, all the adult males were massacred, and the women and children sold into slavery. Many excellent productions of the fine arts were destroyed. The Bœotian Thebes, and Chalcis, the great capital of Eubœa, the mother of so many colonies, were also given up to the flames. The glorious days of ancient Greece terminated, and were destined never again to reappear, in their former splendor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARS IN SPAIN.

AFTER Carthage and Corinth had fallen, the Lusitanian Spaniard, Viriatus, a great warrior, gave occupation to the arms of Rome, during eight years; and, in the same country, a fortress, which was defended by only four thousand men, detained several Roman generals, fourteen years, before its walls. Numantia forced the legions to submit to the same ignominious capitulation to which they had been reduced, in the war of the Samnites. Viriatus was only subdued by treachery. Even Scipio was unable to make himself master of Numantia; but, when hunger had reduced its inhabitants to despair, and Scipio avoided giving them battle, they set fire to the place, and destroyed themselves in the flames. [B. C. 132.] A few individuals, in an indescribable state of misery, followed the triumphal car of the conqueror.

In many districts, the Spaniards maintained their freedom, during another century. They formed few confederacies in war, and therefore every tribe was, in the end, subdued; but this happened only in succession, and each nation, in its turn, renewed the labor of the conquerors; each tribe fought for its independence and its territory, against oppressors, whom their own corruption rendered, every day, more tyrannical. The inventive genius of the Spaniards produced abler commanders than we find among more celebrated nations, who are not, by nature, so prone to reflection.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GRACCHI.

WHILE the Romans, with so much labor, obtained possession of barbarous Spain, Asia Minor fell easily into their power. The last Attalus, king of Pergamus, dying without heirs, gave, by will, to Rome, his own kingdom, and the dominion which had been conferred upon one of his predecessors by the generosity of the senate. Aristonicus in vain opposed himself to the transfer; but no enemy of Rome could have bestowed upon her a more destructive gift; for, from that time forward, the ancient probity of the republic contended, in vain, with the luxury and riches of Asia. [B. C. 131.]

It was immediately proposed, by Tiberius Gracchus, (nephew of Scipio, by his sister,) the tribune of the people, to divide the treasure of Attalus, and to provide a new law, which might prevent any citizen from possessing more than a certain estate, in land. The father of the Tribune was a man of primitive virtue, and Tiberius himself possessed all those qualities which would have rendered him a powerful citizen, without transgressing the laws. The regulation proposed by him was popular, and equally just, in the estimation of the multitude who applauded it. The old limitations, with respect to the possession of land, had become, by long custom, obsolete; and the new law pressed heavily on a class of the citizens, inconsiderable by their number, and taught the poor, that it was in their power to obtain every thing; and the rich, that nothing but force could protect them from aggression. The treasures of Attalus were no superfluous addition to the public fund, which, in former times, had been maintained by contributions, and, from the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, had drawn no revenues. The charge of maintaining a great

empire was thus defrayed without oppressing the provinces.

For the first time, a question of political rights was decided, at Rome, by force. Tiberius Gracchus gave occasion to this disturbance, by expelling from the tribunate one of his colleagues, who was more moderately inclined than himself. He then proposed a law, to confer on all the Italians the rights of Roman citizens. The senate was justly afraid of being reduced, by such a multitude, to submit to the most degrading concessions. Accordingly, Scipio Nasica, a man revered for the most exalted virtues, compelled by the imperious necessity of affairs, took his post on the steps which led to the Capitol, and summoned to his assistance all those who chose to defend their country. The senate and all the great citizens, together with most of the Roman knights, and a considerable part of the people, repairing to his aid, that tumult arose, in which Tiberius lost his life.

[B. C. 122.] His brother Caius, more eloquent, and possessed of greater abilities, after the lapse of ten years, attempted a similar enterprise. He proposed, that, "according to the old Licinian law, no Roman citizen should possess more than five hundred acres of land; that all Cisalpine Gaul should be included in Italy, and should partake of the same privileges; that corn should be sold to the people, at an extremely low price; that six hundred knights should be enrolled in the senate; and that the judicial office should be taken from that body, and transferred to the Equestrian order." The whole balance of power, which kept the constitution together, was thus broken; and, when labor ceased to be necessary, the morals of the people could not fail to become corrupted. A man, who possessed so much intelligence as this Tribune, could, by these measures, pursue no other than his personal interests and passions.

He seemed to have insured success, by the manner in which he had contrived to interest the knights, the

people, and all Italy, in the cause. The Consul Opi-
mius, who was the personal enemy of the Tribune, set
a price upon his head. Latium, the knights, and the
cities in alliance with Rome, declared for the old con-
stitution, which could not be overturned without the
greatest convulsions. Caius, in despair, caused himself
to be slain, by one of his domestics; two hundred men
were killed, in a tumult on the Aventine hill, within
the city; and, when quiet was restored, the accomplices
were summoned to answer for their conduct, and three
thousand men were put to death.

From that time, the good old customs and regula-
tions gradually fell into disuse. The people would no
longer obey; all things were obtained by gold. No
crime, no disorder in war, seemed disgraceful, if profit
was connected with it. Agriculture and the useful
arts fell into decay, under the oppression of the pre-
fects. Those who were poor and without patrons, had
more to fear from the courts of justice, than opulent
criminals; and assassinations and deaths by poison be-
came common. The noble Scipio, the hero of the
third Punic War, was murdered, by some of his rela-
tions, who feared lest he should be raised to the dicta-
torship, and should avenge his country, which he pre-
ferred to all other connexions. His enemy, Metellus,
sent his children to the funeral of Scipio, with these
true words: "Go, behold him: you will never again
see such a Roman." The power of iniquity was so
formidable, that the senate did not venture to institute
any inquiry concerning his death; but, from that time,
it became customary for the citizens to wear daggers
under their robes. Rome, the 'Mistress of the World,'
intoxicated with the blood of nations, became delirious
in her excesses.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CIMBRIC WAR.

[B. C. 113.] A FEW years after the death of Caius Gracchus, hordes of barbarians appeared on the borders of Italy, under the name of Cimbri, whose origin is not very well known, but who probably were of Gallo-Belgic race. At this time, the only declared enemy of Rome was Jugurtha, an African prince, whose inconsiderable power was soon subdued, when he had once become an object of serious attention. Most of the Alpine passes, and all the most accessible of them, were in the possession of the Romans; a Roman province extended through Gaul to the furthest foot of the Pyrenees; and the Allobroges, in Dauphiné and Savoy, and the Arverni, in Auvergne, had submitted to the yoke. In the midst of this external prosperity, the North, for the first time, poured forth her unknown swarms. The Cimbri, the Teutones, the Ambrones, and the Tigurini, the latter of whom were the chief people of Helvetia, after laying waste the banks of the Danube and all Gaul, overcame the Consul Carbo, and, soon after, Silanus and Scaurus; they defeated Cassius, on the lake of Geneva, with disgrace and dreadful slaughter; and Cæpio and Manlius, with still greater loss. Italy trembled before Teutobochus and Boiorix, as it had formerly trembled before Hannibal. The Cimbri were of gigantic stature, and their harsh barbarous voices inspired terror; their host advanced, in close and firm array; it appeared impenetrable, and was found to be irresistible.

In this calamitous emergency, no candidate appeared for the consulship, and the senate was obliged to offer it to Caius Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, a man of Arpinum, who was hated by the nobles, and who had more of the severity than of the dignity of the old con-

suls. Marius, however, was as rigid in discipline as any of his predecessors, and as eminent in the art of war. He would have been a great man, if he had known how to restrain himself as strenuously as he coerced his troops.

Marius marched to attack the Teutones, who were entering Italy from the Gallic province, and sent Catulus, his colleague, against the Cimbri, who were rushing down, like torrents, from the Rhætian Alps. Before Marius engaged with his foe, he accustomed his troops to the ferocious aspect of the barbarians, and restored the discipline of his army, which gives to the soldier a feeling of confidence in himself. He rendered the enemy more negligent, by delay ; and, by the same means, inflamed his own army to extreme impatience. At length, he made the attack ; and, near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix, in Provence, he exterminated the Teutonic host.

After Marius had completed this work, he passed into the plains of Verona, where Catulus found himself unable to withstand the terrific hordes, whom the snow-clad mountains and impetuous torrents of the Alps had not arrested in their course. Marius himself fell into great danger of being cut off and out-flanked, by his far more powerful enemy, who had caused one troop to fly, in order that the Romans, in the pursuit, might fall into confusion. He knew, however, how to infuse into his army new courage, for a decisive attack, which turned out the more fortunately, as the enemy held a position, in which the beams of the sun, breaking forth from clouds, shone, with dazzling splendor, on his face. Both armies fought with excessive fury ; and, when the battle was decisively lost, by the barbarians, they made a desperate resistance around the wagons which contained their wives and children. This day was the last of the Cimbric war. Those who were not killed, or sold as slaves, made their escape into the valleys of the Alps, in order to lurk there, in concealment, or thence to join their brethren, whom they had left behind them, in the North.

The movement, which the enterprise of the Cimbri had excited in the North, terminated not here. From the Rhine and Helvetia to the Black Sea, violent fluctuations are long to be observed. The Roman borders were also molested by the Scordisci, Bastarnæ, and other barbarous races.

These wanderings are said to have been the consequence of inundations and famines; but it is not known in what age we ought to place these phenomena of Nature. The remembrance of such events remains among barbarous nations; but traditions often connect them with historical facts, which have happened many centuries later.

CHAPTER XXI.

MITHRIDATES.

Soon after this event, the Pontic king, Mithridates, equal, in military talents, to the greatest generals of antiquity, developed a plan, in which he reckoned much on the assistance of the Northern nations. This chieftain formed the design of uniting all the hordes, which were dispersed between the Don and the Alps, in one great confederacy, to give a certain effect to their valor, by military discipline, and to overrun Italy, at their head. As far as Mithridates was known, the admiration of his great genius extended itself. His troops were accustomed to endure want, and all the inclemencies of the seasons.

[B. C. 87.] Having acquired a strong party in Asia Minor, he began his warfare, in earnest, by murdering about eighty thousand Romans, who dwelt in the cities of that country, and who were attacked, by a preconcerted arrangement, at the same time. Greece fell into his power, and Rome had once more to contend, during five-and-twenty years, for the empire of the world.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE CITY.—WAR IN ITALY.

IN Rome itself, the arts of demagogues prevailed, and Marius, by such means, deprived Metellus of the command, in the war against Jugurtha, when it was almost brought to a completion, and caused it to be conferred upon himself. Accordingly, he formed the strictest bonds of friendship with the tribune of the people, Saturninus, who had assassinated a competitor, on the day of election. Metellus, respectable for all the qualities of a great citizen and general, narrowly escaped being murdered by him: he forgave the attempt, that he might not disturb the public tranquillity, and abandoned Rome. His noble conduct remained not without the impression which it was calculated to produce, and the people brought him back, in triumph.

In this posture of affairs, the Patricians sought their safety in the consulate of Memmius, who, on the day of election, was murdered by a tribune of the people. In the common terror, Marius embraced the just cause, because it now appeared the most popular. A contest took place in the forum; the Tribune was forced to surrender himself; he was dragged forth, by Roman knights and plebeians, and beaten to death, by clubs and stones.

The situation of the provinces was not more tranquil. The Roman knights, formerly a military order, had become judges, since the time of Caius Gracchus: three thousand and nine hundred of them, classed in four decuries, exercised this authority. There was now no refuge for the oppressed provinces. The knights farmed the imposts, by public contracts, and augmented them, with insatiable avarice; honor, life, and property, depended on the judgement of those, who, themselves, as

exactors, had given cause for the most vehement complaints.

At the same time, a private enmity between Cæpio and Drusus occasioned a breach between the senate and the knights, in which the latter took so warm a part, in favor of Cæpio, that Drusus meditated, by this opportunity, to deprive them of the authority which they had so unfitly acquired. Drusus was of noble family, and his distinguished talents were exalted by a rare purity of manners and clearness of intellect. In order to gain over the people in favor of the old constitution, which he designed to restore, it was necessary for him to show himself friendly to their interests; he therefore proposed a law, for the establishment of some colonies and for a division of lands. The senate, in whose cause he intended to embark, understood not his intentions, and opposed his designs, with all their influence. When the heroic Drusus saw those, on whom he intended again to bestow the judicial power, united against him, with that party whom he designed to deprive of their abused privileges, he was struck with despair. He sought, in this emergency, to interest all Italy in his favor, by promising to the whole nation the rights of Roman citizens. Hereupon, he proposed a law for the division of lands; another, respecting the price of corn; and a third, by which the judicial power was shared between the senatorial and equestrian ranks. As he was returning to his house, accompanied by an innumerable multitude, he was struck with a dagger, by an unknown person, who was never called to account for his crime. As he expired, Drusus exclaimed, "I foresee that a citizen will not soon appear, with intentions so pure as mine."

All Italy resorted to Rome, to demand the right of citizenship, and all were repulsed. The people of Ascalum put to death the Prætor Servilius, with all the Romans who happened to be in their city. All the Picentine country, the Sabine valleys, the Tuscan cities, Umbria, the whole Adriatic coast, Samnium, Campania,

and Calabria, took up arms, against that city, which was chiefly indebted to them for her empire ; for, in all her wars, they had contributed a double contingent. Corfinium was declared the capital, and the consuls were besieged in Alba Longa. Never was a war so furious, so bloody, so treacherously conducted. The Romans, having gained the victory in the territory of Picenum, the Italian General assembled his officers, ate with them, and afterwards killed himself, in their presence. Four thousand men assembled on the top of a mountain, and preferred to perish, by cold, rather than surrender themselves. The army of an ex-consul, offended by his arrogance, slew him, and rushed, in order to atone for his death, with such fury against the enemy, that eighteen thousand were killed, in one day. Many, who had held high offices or military commands, were scourged and beheaded, and nearly three hundred thousand men fell, in various conflicts.

Rome was in this state, when information was received, that eighty thousand citizens had been massacred in Asia Minor ; that the Pontic king was in Thrace. It was known, soon after, that he was in Athens ; and that he was exciting movements among all the people of the North.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, sprung from an ancient but little-distinguished family, had obtained reputation in the Jugurthine and Cimbric wars ; he had lately gained a victory over the Italians, and lay, with his army, before Nola in Campania, which was one of their cities. This General was appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates. But the insatiable ambition of Marius, now seventy years old, incited him to attempt, by means

of Sulpicius, the tribune of the people, who was otherwise an excellent man, but, on this occasion, suffered himself to be misled, to obtain a decree for reversing the nomination of Sylla, and appointing himself to the command. A son-in-law of Sylla lost his life, on this occasion.

On receiving this intelligence, Sylla broke up his camp, before Nola, and now, for the first time, the army of a citizen marched towards Rome in hostile array. In cold blood, he provided torches for the burning of the city. At the head of twenty-six thousand men, to whom his will was the only law, he entered, by the Colline and Esquiline gates, and marched through the streets leading to the capitol. In vain, the senate, in vain, the knights, were summoned by his rival; it was with difficulty that Marius himself was saved, by the assistance of a slave. Hereupon, Sylla demanded that the old Consul, his son, and ten of his dependents, should be declared enemies of their country; and, to this end, he surrounded the deliberating senate with armed troops. In that assembly, Scævola, the inflexible champion of justice, turned towards the imperious Sylla, and said, "Never shall the instruments of tyranny induce old Mucius Scævola, who has only a few drops of blood yet left, to declare him an enemy of the Romans, who has protected Rome and all Italy from the Cimbri." Terror influenced the votes of the rest of the senate. A price was set upon the head of the Tribune Sulpicius, and one of his slaves killed him, obtained the reward, and was instantly thrown from the Tarpeian rock, as a traitor to his master. The conqueror of the Cimbri sought a lurking place in the morasses of Minturnæ, but the mud and reeds were not sufficient to conceal him. He was confined in a dungeon, at Minturnæ, and an armed slave was ordered to despatch him. When the latter, who was a Cimbrian captive, entered, the old General exclaimed, with that voice before which the legions and the barbarians had trembled, "Who art thou, who art not afraid to raise thy hand

against Caius Marius?" The sword fell out of the hand of the Cimbrian; and Marius escaped to Africa, whence, for the first time, he had returned to Rome, in triumph.

After Sylla had entered upon the Mithridatic war, Rome was thrown into convulsions by the Consul Lucius Cornelius Cinna. Octavius, his colleague, drove him out; but Cinna collected an army, and threatened the senate. About the same time, eight new tribes had been enrolled, composed of the citizens of such towns as had deserted the Italian league, and thereby obtained the freedom of Rome. Cinna promised to divide them among the older tribes, in such a manner, that the ancient families might possess no distinction over the new citizens. By means of this stratagem, he found himself at the head of an immense army.

In order to render his legions more formidable, by military discipline, and the terror of a great name, Cinna recalled Marius. Compassion, indignation, hope, and fear, armed Italy, in favor of the hoary General, who, by nature cruel, from his youth, an enemy to the aristocracy, and now, animated by revenge, put forth all the powers of his warlike genius, for which he had been celebrated for half a century, and to which, alone, he was indebted for two triumphs and six consulates. A battle was fought, near Rome, against the elder Pompey, who, at length, though too late, had declared himself against the party of Cinna. Seventeen thousand men fell by the sword and pestilence. A soldier, in Pompey's army, distinguished, among those whom he had slain, the body of his brother; he erected his funeral pile, placed the corpse upon it, called down the vengeance of the gods upon Pompey, execrated the war, the factions, and the fate of Rome, and slew himself upon the flaming pyre. Soon afterwards, Pompey was struck dead, by lightning.

Marius, who, since he set foot in Italy, had marked every step with blood, entered the city, with Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius. The Consul Octavius still defended the Vatican hill, with a few troops, on whom

the senate placed their last reliance. His head was soon carried through the city, on the point of a spear. Then Marius gave the order for murdering all the great senators. Most of them suffered their doom, in their own houses; many were betrayed by their clients; many dragged to the forum, where a heap of bodies was accumulated. The high-priest of Jupiter was slain upon the altar of his god; Catulus, the wise and virtuous consul, who had shared, with Marius, the fame of the Cimbrian victory, was forced to strangle himself. The head of Antonius, the greatest orator of the age, was brought to Marius, while he was at supper; he grasped it with exultation, and embraced the assassin, yet reeking in blood. This was his last moment of joy; he died soon afterwards. [B.C. 85.] Many thousand slaves, whom he had armed against the citizens, and who were discontented, for want of their pay, were collected by Cinna, at the forum, as if to receive their stipend, and there surrounded, and put to death.

Sylla seemed to forget every other object, in order to avenge Rome on the king of Pontus. He conquered Athens, after a siege, in which the citizens, under the pressure of hunger, had not even abstained from human flesh. He forgave the Athenians, for the sake of their ancestors. In the decisive conflict, which took place in Bœotia, the valor and skill of the generals of Mithridates forced the Romans to give way; at that instant, Sylla threw himself among the enemy, and cried out, to his army, "Soldiers! when you are asked, where you have left your leader, answer, in the field of battle!" This rebuke roused them to a sense of their duty, and gave them the victory. Never were all the resources of war displayed by greater commanders, in a long-continued contest. Sylla had not only to fight against the powers of invention, which seemed, in Mithridates, inexhaustible; but the chiefs of the Marian faction, at the same time, excited commotions throughout Asia. At length, he succeeded in forcing Fimbria, their leader, to destroy himself, and in reducing the

King to conclude a treaty, by which Cappadocia, Bithynia, and all the Lesser Asia, which countries Mithridates already considered as his own, together with a part of his fleet, and a great sum in gold, were surrendered to the Romans.

Sylla now returned to Italy, with as much composure, as if he came, in profound peace, to demand a triumph, the fruit of his victories. From Apulia, where he landed, he marched up the country, in the best order, and preserving the strictest discipline. The consular men, who had fled from the city, met him, and Sylla seemed to wish for nothing else than to reinstate the senate in its constitutional rights. Cinna, who had conducted the measures of the opposite party with a courage worthy of a better cause, was killed, in a tumult among the soldiery. Sylla, on descending from the hill, which lies above Capua, gained a victory over the Consul Norbanus; and the army, which Lucius Scipio conducted against him, deserted to him. The young Cneius Pompey brought to his aid, from Picenum, the numerous clients of his father. In the mean time, an officer of Sylla's party gained possession of the island of Sardinia, and the Marian Prætor of Africa, an arrogant and avaricious man, was burnt in a military tumult, together with his house.

Under these circumstances, the Prætor Damasippus, by the command of the young Marius, summoned the senate at Rome, and made proposals for a treaty of peace. All the respectable citizens, yet living in Rome, all who preferred peace, at any rate, to a bloody revenge, assembled in the Hostiline curia. This instant was chosen by the Marian faction, for filling up the measure of their iniquities, and they massacred the whole assembly. Scævola, the supreme Pontiff, fell before the sacred fire of Vesta.

A few days afterwards, Sylla, at the gates of Rome, gained a victory over Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite of the Marian party. The day of his entry was a signal for the death of all the adherents of the faction of Ma-

rius ; of all those, who had borne envy or open enmity against Sylla himself, or any of his friends or soldiers. In order to set bounds to vengeance, tables of proscription were published, in which the massacre, at first, of eighty, and afterwards, of five hundred, distinguished men, was decreed, their whole property bestowed on those who put them to death, and their children excluded, for life, from holding any civil employment. When assassination became a profitable profession, riches, in many instances, stood in place of crimes. Eight thousand men, who had surrendered to the conquerors, were massacred together. The cries of rage and the shrieks of the unfortunate were so loud, that the senate, assembled in the neighboring curia, were unable to proceed in their consultations. Sylla coolly observed, "These are some wretches, who are undergoing the chastisement of their crimes." The younger Catulus replied, "We slay armed men in war, and the unarmed in peace ! with whom, then, shall we in future live?"

The Consul Marius, who was twenty-six years of age, made a long resistance at Præneste, worthy of the military fame of his father. Mean-while, Sylla commanded his brother, the Prætor, to be dragged to the tomb of the elder Catulus ; here his tongue, his ears, and his eyes, were torn out, and one limb after another was beaten to pieces, by clubs ; and M. Pletorius was put to death, because he had fainted at the spectacle. When the head of the Prætor was thrown over the walls of Præneste, the young Consul and his friend, the son of Telesinus, slew each other. When the city surrendered, all the people were massacred.

Mean-while, the Consul Cneius Carbo fell, together with a great number of his partisans in Sicily, by the arms of young Pompey. In Rhodes, the Consul Norbanus, who had fled thither for refuge, was forced to destroy himself. The Prætor Ofella, one of the most zealous partisans of Sylla, the conqueror of Præneste, having presumed to demand the consulate, without the permission of his chief, was assassinated in the forum :

and, when the people seemed to be enraged at the act, Sylla appeared, and declared, "I have ordered it." Husbands, against whom their own wives had shut their doors, because they were proscribed, were seen killing themselves, before their houses; sons murdered their fathers. Many persons concealed themselves in tombs and in secluded valleys.

Thirty-three men, who had been consuls, seven prætors, sixteen ædiles, two hundred senators, one hundred and fifty thousand Roman citizens, fell a sacrifice to the wars carried on between Marius and Sylla. Sylla afterwards revived the dictatorship, which had been disused for one hundred and twenty years; he took the surname of 'the Fortunate;' he distributed among the soldiers of his forty-seven legions the property of the proscribed and murdered; he abolished the right, which the tribunes of the people exercised, of proposing laws; he filled up the diminished numbers of the senate out of the Equestrian rank; he increased the colleges of pontiffs and augurs, in order to reward his troops; and gave to the people, in remembrance of his victory, the celebrated Circensian games, in the enjoyment of which they afterwards forgot their lost freedom.

After perpetrating acts, on which few tyrants would have ventured, in order to bequeath a throne to a long posterity, Sylla laid down the dictatorship, retired into private life, and employed himself in writing his history. He passed the remainder of his days in the midst of intellectual and personal enjoyments, and died, of old age, on the second day after completing the twenty-second book of his memoirs. [B. C. 77.]

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE AGE OF POMPEY.

THE effects of these convulsions were perceptible in the provinces, for many years. Sertorius, a Marian chief, carried on, in Spain, an eighteen years' war, which became remarkable for the knowledge of human nature, and the skill in choosing military positions, displayed by the General. Sertorius had known how to engage even the barbarian, so strongly on his side, that Calagurri was not taken by the enemy till its inhabitants had consumed their wives and children. Just as he was about to make common cause with Mithridates, against his country, he was betrayed by Perpenna, whom he had spared, when he put to death all other suspected persons. This crime cost the perpetrator of it his life.

Lucullus was sent into Asia, against Mithridates. This General was a Roman citizen, who had formed himself in the studies and arts of peace, and who had lived, for many years, secluded from all share in military affairs. He studied the principles of war, in the course of his journey to Asia, in books and conversation; and his actions prove, that, with a head accustomed to reflection, even this method will succeed.

In Italy, the consuls were defeated by troops of gladiators, who had run away from their owners; and Licinius Crassus, who conquered their leaders, Crixus and Spartacus, gained a victory, inglorious, on account of its objects, but important, for the public tranquillity.

The early glory of Pompey was the object of universal admiration; while young Cæsar yet strove, without being able to raise himself into the sphere of his ambition. Cato now began to be known by the marks of that hatred for tyrants which he displayed while yet a youth.

Victories in Gaul, Illyricum, Spain, and the bequest of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, enlarged the empire ; Rome, sinking in voluptuousness, forgot the atrocities which she had witnessed, and prepared for her degradation. Already, the laws were silenced, by the inordinate influence of the powerful men ; the growing disbelief of religion destroyed those boundless hopes, in which the more elevated sentiment of antiquity found strength against the low impulses of vulgar passions ; honors, dignities, friendships, were venal ; and corrupt citizens justified every crime which was called for by the ever-increasing necessities of an insatiable luxury.

About this time, Pompey sought the favor of the people, by reinstating the tribunate in the rights of which it had been deprived by Sylla ; thus laboring for those, who afterwards suffered themselves to be seduced to his destruction. His destiny had decreed, that, as hereafter, in his fall, so now, in his elevation, all forms and limitations should be broken through. He had triumphed, before he had borne any public office ; had gained the consulate, without passing, according to the usual routine, through the quæstorship ; and an extraordinary power was now decreed to him over the Mediterranean Sea and all its coasts, for the extirpation of a horde of pirates. Yet was Pompey so greedy of distinction, that he snatched to himself the laurels of others, with insatiable vanity. He had assumed the reputation of putting an end to the Sertorian war, of which all the essential measures had been conducted by his predecessor ; and he now exerted himself, to deprive Metellus of the fame arising from the conquest of Crete.

His ambition further displayed itself, in the share he took in the Mithridatic war. The great king of Pontus maintained his cause, with his barbarian troops, as long as it was possible, against the legions skilfully commanded by Lucullus. When no resource but his own genius remained to him, against the power and military talents of the Romans, Mithridates was forced, at length, to give way. At this conjuncture, Pompey deprived Lu-

cullus of the honor of terminating a war, which the latter had perhaps prolonged through avarice.

Mithridates fell, in a manner worthy of his name. After he had brought into array, against Rome, the kingdom inherited from a long line of ancestors, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the warlike swarms of Thrace, all that remained of Grecian valor, Colchis, and the mountain tribes of Iberia and Albania; all Caucasus, and the dwellers on the Caspian Sea and on the mountains of Taurus, both Armenias, Mesopotamia, and Syria; after he had held all his hordes together, in often-renewed wars, during twenty-five years, and, with the same resources, had withstood the fortune of Sylla, the zealous efforts of many consuls, even the wise tactics of Lucullus, and, as long as it was possible, the rapidity of Pompey's arms; he fell, at last, by no fault of his own, by no neglect or intermission of long-continued vigilance. The treachery of his own son finally ruined him; and the Romans obtained no other trophy from him than his corpse. On the ruins of the independence of Asia, Mithridates slew himself, and it was only thus, that Rome could obtain peace.

Through the remainder of his career, Pompey had only to take possession of conquests; from the Scythian plains to the walls of Jerusalem, he collected fruits from the labors of others. Tigranes, king of Armenia, during the violent commotions which agitated the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, had seated himself on their throne. [B. C. 64.] Pompey gave Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia, to Rome, and left Armenia to Tigranes. He would have done more wisely, if he had granted to the latter the luxurious Antioch. Syria could not have become formidable, and Rome stood in need of Armenia, as a bulwark for the Lesser Asia against the Parthians. Jerusalem, weakened by the internal strife of the Macabee princes, became an easy conquest. [B. C. 62.] The law of Moses remained to the Jews, but the sceptre had forever departed from Judah.

While the Parthian Phraates began to tremble at

the progress of the legions, Rome herself was indebted for her existence to the vigilance of one good citizen. Catiline, of the noble house of the Sergii, living in the closest intimacy with all the young men who were corrupted by pleasure and ruined by extravagance, adorned by all the splendid qualities which can be combined with want of good principles, entered into a conspiracy against the subsisting constitution. Rome fell into that peril which menaces every state, where there exists no well-regulated power to restrain the audacity of men who have nothing to lose, and are destitute of conscience. Sallust, the severe censor of vices which he was unable to conquer in himself, relates, in his admirable work, how Cicero, the consul, discovered the plot; how he directed against it the thunders of his eloquence, and frustrated its purpose; and how Catiline, with arms in his hands, fell, with a courage worthy of a better cause.

CHAPTER XXV.

CÆSAR, POMPEY, AND CRASSUS.—CATO AND CICERO.

AMONG those who incurred the suspicion of secretly favoring the enterprises of Catiline, the most powerful citizen was Caius Julius Cæsar. By continual bodily exercises, Cæsar had so strengthened his constitution, which, in childhood, was very weak, that it was capable of bearing all seasons and climates. In every undertaking, by which he sought to raise himself to the rank of the first in Rome and in the world, fortune favored him; because, although he indulged in every excess, he still retained a command over himself. Without speaking of his perseverance and constancy, or the power and loftiness of his comprehensive genius, we cannot avoid noticing that peculiar vigor and vivacity, that promptitude, quicker than lightning, which characterized him.

We are now contemplating that man, who, within the short space of fourteen years, subdued Gaul, thickly inhabited by warlike nations; twice conquered Spain; entered Germany and Britain; marched through Italy, at the head of a victorious army; destroyed the power of Pompey the Great; reduced Egypt to obedience; saw and defeated Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates; overpowered, in Africa, the great name of Cato and the arms of Juba; fought fifty battles, in which one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men fell; was the greatest orator in the world, next to Cicero; set a pattern to all historians, which has never been excelled; wrote learnedly on the sciences of grammar and augury; and, falling by a premature death, left memorials of his great plans for the extension of the empire and the legislation of the world. So true is it, that it is not time that is wanting to men, but the resolution to turn it to the best advantage! Cæsar had not that affected elevation of character, by which men of cooler temperament pretend to be elevated above passions which they do not feel; he knew their influence and indulged them, but became not their slave.

In war, no obstacles opposed themselves to him, which he was not able to subdue; no stratagems, which he knew not how to frustrate, by some unexpected turn. His maxims of warfare were simple and decisive; he harangued his soldiers, before battle, on the grounds of their expectation of success. Cicero has given his orations this general testimony, "that they were like streams, flowing from a pure and silvery fountain; that, when Cæsar chose to adorn them, he drew pictures, which could not be improved; that the character of his expression, of his voice, of his action, was noble, and the most remote from the arts of a forensic pleader." In like manner, in his history, he displays every object with the most appropriate expressions; his reflections, of which he is sparing, are in his own elevated style; and here and there are scattered traits of an innocent irony. He wrote his works with rapidity, and, as Quin-

tilian rightly judges, "in the same spirit with which he fought."

He called his soldiers "his comrades;" he publicly praised the most valiant; in dangers, he reminded them of the good fortune which they had already enjoyed with him, of his love for them, of what he expected from them, of the exploits they had so often displayed, in his presence, of the care and foresight with which he had now insured the event. They were, in fact, so devoted to him, that, in any important conjuncture, his lieutenant could say nothing more impressive to them, than, "Soldiers, imagine that Cæsar beholds you." In the beginning of his career, he had particularly gained the affection of the tenth legion; and, when a great army of Germans, under Ariovistus, had excited some dismay, he uttered that memorable harangue, in which, after observing how unworthy of them it was to entertain any anxiety concerning the character and skill of their enemy,—cares which only belonged to him,—he finally declared, "that, if all the rest abandoned him, he, alone, at the head of his tenth legion, in which he confided, would engage the enemy." The legion thanked him for having so rightly judged of their dispositions, and assured him, that they should ever be devoted to his commands; the officers of the other legions could not sufficiently express their grief, that Cæsar had found it possible, for a moment, to doubt of them; and the emulation, thus excited, enabled him to conquer the enemy.

On another occasion, when he found his army intimidated, he availed himself of his own self-confidence: "It is true," said he, "that Juba advances against us; that he has ten legions, three hundred elephants, thirty thousand horsemen, a hundred thousand light-armed troops; but the first of you who gives himself any anxiety, on that account, shall be abandoned, in a wretched boat, to be the sport of the waves of the sea." He quelled a sedition among his soldiers by a single word, calling them, instead of fellow-warriors, "*Quirites*,"

citizens. This warrior, who sacrificed all things to his schemes, as soon as he had conquered, was the mildest and most affable of men. It is indifferent, whether he became so from the disposition of his nature, or because he had good sense enough to perceive that this conduct was the most prudent.

It appears, indeed, that he could suffer no man to be superior to himself, but might have permitted Pompey to be equal to him; whereas, Pompey, on his part, was resolved to stand entirely alone. On the other hand, Pompey did not attempt, as Cæsar did, to retain always the same power which had once been committed to him; and, if we must suppose, that, in victory, he would have been severe, like Sylla, so it would also have been consistent with his manner, to retire again into private life. That Pompey understood the art of war, he proved, remarkably, in all the latter period of his life; but he possessed not Cæsar's creative genius, his vigor, that animation, which diffused itself among his troops, and which caused whole cohorts willingly to seek death, rather than suffer any of Cæsar's friends to fall into the hands of the enemy. He spoke, with the confidence of a powerful party leader, with as popular a manner as he thought becoming to him, and with a gravity, worthy of the Roman majesty which never forsook him.

Crassus, who associated himself to these great men, enjoyed influence both as a man of sound judgement in affairs, and more particularly on account of the great riches he possessed, in a city, where every thing was venal. When, after the war against Mithridates, Pompey, not without reason, became the object of envy, and acquired enemies who endeavored to hinder the ratification of the measures established by him, he found himself under the necessity of seeking aid, in the influence which Cæsar had acquired by his talents, and Crassus by his gold. Cæsar, on his part, did not yet feel that he possessed that influence which he hoped to obtain, when, by the assistance of Pompey, he should

have gained the consulate and an important command. Crassus was unable to effect any thing, without the aid of his coadjutors, and could do every thing with their aid.

While these men combined, and agreed to make common cause, in all public affairs, Cato remained for the defence of the laws. No man was ever more similar to the ideal pattern of virtue than Cato, who seemed to act uprightly, because it was not in his nature to do otherwise. Notwithstanding all the trouble which his ingenious enemies gave themselves, in order to degrade him, yet his name continued to be synonymous with that of virtue itself. Cato had one fault, which no other man had,—that he could not, in any degree, accommodate himself to the prevailing corruption of the times, and preferred to fail in effecting some good end, rather than not act, in every instance, in strict obedience to the severest rules of justice. With more compliance, he would have been more useful to his country; but a Cato would have been wanting to the history of men.

If the father of the Latin muses, of whom Cæsar, once his enemy, so truly judged, that “his laurel was so much more honorable than the laurel of victory, as it is more noble to have extended the dominion of the human mind than the boundaries of a perishable empire;” if Cicero, after liberating Rome from Catiline, had lived, like the wise Atticus, in philosophical retirement, many weak traits of his splendid mind would have escaped our view. He felt not, that political influence was not wanting to him, in order that his name might shine, through future ages; and he flattered himself, in vain, that virtue and genius could insure him this influence. Amid the fearful storms of the imperial republic, amidst arms, tumults, and crimes, Marcus Tullius* found himself alone with his genius, his great soul inclined to all good sentiments, and a very moderate knowledge of human nature. Accordingly, he adhered,

* [Marcus Tullius Cicero.]

now to one party, then, to the other, but did not long outlive the republic. According to the judgement of Augustus, who betrayed him, he was "a great man, and one who wished well to Rome!"

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WAR OF CÆSAR, IN GAUL.

Soon after this union of parties, and after the finest lands in Italy had been divided between twenty thousand poor citizens, Cæsar obtained the province of Gaul, for the period of five years, which was afterwards extended to ten. He departed from Rome, rejoicing in having, at length, an opportunity of engaging in war.

The humbled Arverni made no attempt to raise themselves from their state of degradation; the Sequani, who had founded their authority in Gaul, on auxiliaries from Germany, were grievously oppressed by their new allies; the Hædui, in Burgundy, were ancient but not powerful friends of Rome, who did not venture to expect her aid in wars which they had undertaken of their own accord; the strongest nation of Gaul, next to them, were the Rhemii, or the people of Rheims, for the power of the Suessones, of Soissons, had disappeared with their former princes; the Bellovaci, in Beauvais, were a valiant people; but the Belgic race enjoyed the most distinguished reputation in arms, and had preserved their ancient manners with more purity than the other Gauls. A colony of Belgians had passed over into Britain, and may yet be recognised in the principality of Wales. On the coasts of the ocean, the Veneti, around Vannes, possessed the chief maritime power. The most invincible of the Gallic tribes inhabited the borders of the Pyrenees and the morasses of the Low Countries. The people of the latter, in their manners, resembled the Germans; a nation, who,

entirely unacquainted with fear, and practising only warfare, exercised a despotic authority over the Gauls, who were more civilized, and had more to lose. On the other side, the Germans were held in check by the Helvetii, a people who inhabited the level parts of Switzerland. These Helvetii afforded Cæsar an opportunity of that war which he so much desired.

[B. C. 57.] Still full of the remembrance of the exploits of the Cimbri, the Helvetii imagined it to be an easy enterprise to conquer, for themselves, more convenient quarters, in a fruitful country. In this expectation, they formed an alliance with some neighboring German tribes, burnt their dwellings, and set out, with the resolution of crossing the Jura. Such a movement as this, which might excite other German and Gallic tribes to imitate the example, could not appear to the Romans a matter of indifference, for the tranquillity of their borders. Accordingly, Cæsar marched, with reinforcements, to Geneva, and followed the Helvetii, who had penetrated through the scarcely accessible pass of the Jura. He willingly received the complaints of the Hædui and Allobroges, and made use of this pretext to attack the Tigurini, who, in the Cimbric war, had defeated the Romans, and were still commanded by the same general, Divico. By this exploit, he appeared to avenge the former disgrace of the Roman arms. Soon afterwards, a decisive battle took place, in which, military skill gained a complete triumph over rude, undisciplined valor. Cæsar pursued the army, now unable to make resistance, and compelled it to surrender. The Helvetii became allies of Rome, and the chief pass of the Jura was secured, by a colony, where the village of Nion now stands, near the lake of Geneva.

In consequence of this first victory, the authority of Cæsar became so great, that he was appealed to, for relief, by the oppressed nations of Gaul; while, on the other hand, confederacies were formed among the tribes, for maintaining their independence against him

and Rome. Gaul was divided among many factions, so that not only no state, but scarcely a single family, was without internal dissensions. In the republics, every man interfered in political affairs, and frequent popular assemblies afforded multiplied occasions for these evils. All things were done with passion; and, after consultation and decision, the conclusion formed was frequently altered. Scarcely could the priests, or Druids, by their influence, which appears to have had a salutary effect, restrain the people from the wildest excesses. By means of this ancient hierarchy, a degree of civilization, as far as civilization could be united with the practice of human sacrifices, was preserved among these nations. At the same time, powerful individuals, in Gaul, had contrived to acquire a personal authority over their own and the neighboring states. The common people held a very degraded rank in society, from which the transition was easy to personal slavery, which was introduced at a later period.

Cæsar observed these faults, in the civil constitution of Gaul, and knew how to avail himself of them, for the subjugation of the country. In order to increase his influence, he passed, in person, over the Rhine, the boundary of the bravest of the barbarous nations, and over the arm of the sea, into Britain, a country which was considered as another world, as the confines of a region only known to fable and romance. In this island, indeed, the ancient manners were preserved with greater purity. The genuine doctrine of the Druids, concerning the nature of things, the gods, and the souls of men, had here its seat; and the Britons displayed, in war, not only the greatest valor, but several strange customs peculiar to themselves.

Cæsar's main object, however, was the conquest of Gaul, which he justly looked upon as a boundary of the empire against the Northern nations, and a sort of advanced post, by means of which, Rome might obtain timely information concerning all their movements. The greater the number of tribes that united against

him, the more easy it was to defeat many, in the same day, whom he must otherwise have pursued into various countries.

Every account of his victories increased the admiration of his name, at Rome ; his daily habits of life secured the affections of his soldiers ; he possessed such a combination of the greatest and most amiable qualities, that his army became devoted to him, alone. He excelled all the other heroes of his class. Alexander had not such obstacles to overcome ; and Charles the Great was prevented, by the barbarism of his age, from becoming so enlightened.

About the same time, Crassus fell, in an unnecessary war, in which he had engaged, against the Parthians, without possessing sufficient knowledge of the country which he invaded.

[B. C. 52.] The nobles adhered, more and more, to the party of Pompey, whose manners and sentiments were congenial to their own. Cæsar and Pompey had sold Cicero,—who, on the successes of his consulate, founded the hope of an independent influence,—to Clodius, a tribune of the people, full of violent passions, and venal for any purpose. Cicero was exiled, and Cato was removed from Rome, under another pretext : he was appointed to conquer the kingdom of Cyprus, for the Roman people. Ptolemæus Apion, who had possessed himself of it, by a criminal enterprise, was reduced, by the injustice of Rome, to the necessity of destroying himself ; while Cato only obeyed the laws. Afterwards, the triumvirs assented to the recall of Cicero, who was accordingly obliged to submit, in future, to their influence. Soon afterwards, Milo and Hypsæus sought the consulate, by arms, in consequence of which, it was given to Pompey, without a colleague. This was done, during his absence, and by means of the senate. The manners of the Romans became more and more corrupt ; the votes of the judges, who were, according to the late distribution of the Prætor Cotta, partly knights and partly senators, were bought, by the

prostitution of the daughters of Patrician families, or were forced into compliance, by arms. The arm of Milo alone was able to deliver Rome from Clodius ; and only Cato ventured to justify this act.

During these ten years, Cæsar never visited Rome ; he subdued barbarous nations, scarcely known by name ; he carried the Roman eagles to shores, hitherto cut off from the world, and into the midst of the Hercynian forests. Pompey, surnamed the Great, forgot that this title is more difficult to maintain than to acquire. He became unused to war, and the continual presence of his never-condescending greatness was burdensome and odious to the people. The nobles alone sought in him a protector for the aristocracy, against Cæsar. Julia, Cæsar's daughter, the beloved wife of Pompey, died, just at the time when the senate made him sole consul, and when the government of Spain was decreed to him. He obtained permission, because it was for the good of the commonwealth, to assume, by means of his lieutenants, the command of the legions that were stationed there. He thus became possessed of an army, commanded by leaders who were devoted to his interests, without exposing his reputation to any new proofs, and without being under the necessity of leaving the seat of supreme power and of the intrigues of state. When he was sick, all Italy made vows to the gods, for his recovery.

Cæsar, after having completed the conquest of the Transalpine, was received, in triumph, in all the cities of the ancient province, and of Cisalpine Gaul. Trophies of victory adorned the streets, the walls, the doors ; all ages, both sexes, and all ranks of men, went, in crowds, to behold the great and generous Cæsar, to carry offerings to his tutelar gods, and to receive his soldiers with the rites of hospitality ; for all tumults were now composed, from the tops of the Pennine Alps to the morasses of the Batavian coast : the roads were rendered safe to the merchant, and the boundaries of Italy were secured.

Cæsar, for all these exploits, only demanded that, in his absence, and even before his triumph, he should be chosen, a second time, consul. Far more extraordinary things had been done, for thirty years, in favor of Pompey. But Pompey, little as he doubted that he should always continue to be first, yet began to fear that his personal splendor would be in some measure obscured. He accordingly demanded of Cæsar two legions, which he had formerly lent him ; and, soon after, it was decreed that the latter should disband his army, and seek the consulate according to the regular forms, like a private citizen. The Consul Marcellus, full of family pride, was strongly opposed to Cæsar's popular sentiments ; Lentulus, the other consul, was obliged to obey the orders of his creditors ; Scipio, Pompey's present father-in-law, had the dread of some judicial inquiries hanging over him, which were most likely to be suppressed by a political convulsion ; Cato, true to his system, had condemned the violation of forms, even in the case of Pompey, and it seemed to him far more dangerous to allow it, in favor of a citizen, who was at the head of a victorious army ; Cicero exerted himself, in vain, to maintain peace, on any terms.

Among the tribunes of the people, the young Curio was distinguished for his great talents. It was not, however, difficult to gain him, whose extravagance was in proportion to his boundless licentiousness ; and he became subservient to the cause of Cæsar. In the same party was his colleague, Marcus Antonius,—like Curio, in all things, except that Antony was the better warrior, while Curio possessed the greater share of eloquence. All the other citizens in Rome, who held offices and dignities, were in favor of Pompey ; he, himself, maintained, that he was sure of the general aversion of the soldiery towards Cæsar, and he reckoned upon ten legions, as his own force. In this confidence, and without waiting for Cæsar's declaration, the senate decreed, as was customary in the greatest dangers, “ that it belonged to the consuls, prætors, tribunes, and pro-

consuls, to take all precautions to ward off perils and mischief from the commonwealth; that a levy of soldiers should be held in Italy; that Cneius Pompey should be assisted by the public treasury, and commanders appointed, in all the provinces, who were favorable to his cause." Cæsar issued a declaration, that "he would disband his army, except one legion, and would seek the consulate, at Rome, according to the usual forms." It appears that the senate was not contented with this, because his presence was feared.

The most violent passions were awakened, and made their sport of the republic. All eyes, in Rome, in Italy, in the empire, citizens and soldiers, were directed, unceasingly, towards the movements of Cæsar, and the long and daily sittings of the senate. Old friendships were broken, enmities were appeased, by party spirit, or both were suddenly forgotten.

In this decisive moment, for himself and for the world, Cæsar concealed, within his breast, the movements of his mind. Five cohorts, only, were with him; the remainder of the army was scattered in numberless towns. Not far from Ariminum, now Rimini, there was a rivulet, called the Rubicon, the modern name of which is Luso. It was the boundary of Italy, properly so called, which no general could pass, unpermitted by the senate, without being declared an enemy of his country. On the bank of this stream, Cæsar considered, in the silence of the night, whether he should lead his army against his country, and against the metropolis of the world. His soldiers found him, at the break of day, on the brink of the river, riding up and down, in profound meditation. They anxiously observed his countenance, which betrayed strong emotion; it was an important day, for the whole human race. At length, Cæsar suddenly exclaimed, "The die is cast;" and, setting spurs to his horse, passed over the stream, followed by his soldiers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CÆSAR'S CIVIL WAR.

ALL the cities on the Adriatic coasts opened their gates, the garrisons deserted, and the officers fled. Rome, remembering the massacres of Marius and Sulla, trembled, in the expectation of new tables of proscription. On the information of Cæsar's approach, Pompey, together with the consuls, the senate, Cato, Piso, and Cicero, took flight, with the utmost rapidity, and stopped not, until they arrived at Capua. L. Domitius alone, expecting to receive succors, held out at Corfinium. Pompey, when he was now to risk, in the contest, the fame of so many triumphs, and power so long possessed, seemed unequal to himself. The garrison of Corfinium at length deserted; Domitius and all his officers were brought into the camp, and set at liberty, by Cæsar, without his demanding even the sums which had been expended in fighting against him, or exacting any promise; he only complained, that, in this conjuncture, they had not shown those sentiments towards him, which his friendship for them had deserved.

When the garrisons of the towns and reinforcements from Gaul augmented his army, every day, he wrote the following letter to two of his friends: "Cæsar greets Oppius and Balbus. Before I received your admonitions, I had formed the resolution of observing the greatest clemency towards all: by this method, I wished, if possible, to conquer the hearts of my enemies, and to render my victory lasting. My atrocious predecessors shall not be the examples of my conduct; but I mean to practise a new method of warfare, by winning my adversaries by benefits and kindness. These thoughts employ me, day and night, and I am anxious to know also your opinions." He used to say, that "the remem-

brance of an act of cruelty would be a sorry companion for his last days."

Cæsar continually renewed his offers of peace ; but, when he arrived at Brundisium, Pompey escaped out of Italy. Cæsar then resolved, in the first place, to attack the chief stronghold of his adversary ; namely, his légions in Spain, under the skilful command of Afranius and Petreius ; apprehending that this army, while he was pursuing a mere shadow, might pass into Italy, and make the bosom of his country the theatre of war.

He assembled, at Rome, the senate and people, and explained to them how he had been compelled, by his enemies, to these proceedings. Massilia, or Marseilles, would not receive his army, and he found himself under the necessity of laying siege to it. This city had been, for many years, the ally of the republic ; the Massilians believed that they ought to adhere to the party of the senate, and neutrality seemed impossible. They held out against Cæsar's generals, with the pertinacity which they inherited from their Phocæan ancestors. At length, Massilia yielded to the destiny, which gave to Cæsar the empire of the world. This city remained, afterwards, a flourishing seat of the arts, as it had already been the source whence the civilization of Gaul, in earlier times, was in part derived.

The campaign in Spain was one of the most arduous, because the natural difficulties of the country were combined against the invader, with the arts of skilful generals. Cæsar found his army between many rapid streams, which, in certain seasons, are greatly swelled, almost inaccessible to provisions, reenforcements, and forage, while the enemy held a far more advantageous post. Here, Cæsar surpassed himself, and infused into his army a fortitude, similar to his own ; so that the soldiers waded through the rivers, where the water reached up to their necks, and, by sudden marches, frustrated all the attempts of the enemy. It happened, at length, that Afranius and Petreius, whose wives had been already congratulated at Rome, thought them-

selves fortunate to secure their lives, by surrendering their whole army, without fighting a battle. Cæsar immediately returned, through Gaul and Italy, to Rome, declared himself dictator, appeared, as quickly as lightning, at Brundisium, and on the opposite coast of Dyrachium, now Durazzo.

“Ocior et cæli flammis et tigride fætâ :
Dum se deesse Deis et non sibi Numina credit.”*

Finding that a portion of his army, which remained on the Italian side, made some delay in passing over the Adriatic, Cæsar, confiding in his fortune, went, alone, across the sea, in a little ferry-boat, in a tempestuous night, in order to hasten the embarkation on the opposite shore. In the mean time, Pompey had summoned to his aid all the East, which he had formerly traversed, in triumph, and which was devoted to his cause. On his side were Greece, Africa, and the venerable name of the Roman senate; he himself took courage, and displayed his military talents. His intention was, to protract the war, in order to form his army, and to exhaust and weary his enemy. Unsuccessful skirmishes and want of provisions seemed to weaken Cæsar's army. But many senators, unacquainted with military affairs, censured Pompey, for avoiding to fight, as if with a view of lengthening his period of command; and it was not possible for him, as for Cæsar, to follow freely his own counsels. A shade was already cast upon his reputation, by the abandonment of Italy, and, in his camp, politics were too much discussed; while Cæsar's army, confiding in him alone, executed his commands, without dispute.

Pompey at length abandoned the position, in which Cæsar could never have forced him to a battle; and, instead of following the advice of those who expected great effects in his favor, from the name of the republic, and passing back into Italy, he marched into the plains

*[Swifter than the lightning's flash, or the tigress with her young :
While he thinks that he fails in his duty to the gods, not that they
are unpropitious to him.]

of Thessaly, and gave battle near the town of Pharsalus.

Cæsar's army advanced, with firm steps, while Pompey made no movement, intending, perhaps, to fall on the enemy, with unexhausted strength. The troops of Cæsar, already animated by exertion, guessing at the design of their adversary, suddenly made a halt, and, after a short respite, threw their darts and spears, and, drawing their swords, rushed furiously on the astonished Pompeians. Many sons of senators, bred up in the effeminate life of citizens, and fitter for affairs of gallantry than of war, were struck with a panic, when they saw themselves principally engaged, and perceived the merciless weapons of their assailants chiefly directed against their faces; they presently took flight. A part of the Pompeian cavalry fancied themselves victorious, when they saw a portion of the enemy's troops flee before them. In their pursuit, they came unexpectedly, as Cæsar anticipated, upon a fourth rank, drawn up, in close order, behind the three ranks of which the armies were usually composed. It consisted of Germans, and was only six cohorts strong, but it produced the effect of every unexpected phenomenon. The enemy's cavalry, without measuring their strength with it, suddenly fled, and made no halt, until they reached the heights, which, at some distance on the opposite side, commanded the field of battle. While the Germans pursued them, for some time, a wing of Cæsar's army fell upon the flank of Pompey's lines, now exposed, by the flight of the cavalry which had covered it. At the same time, his three ranks formed themselves closely, in one body, in order to bear down, irresistibly, with a triple onset, on the enemy's front. When the fourth rank turned from the pursuit of the fugitives, it fell on the enemy, in the rear. Pompey took flight, and the fortune of the day was decided. Cæsar, mindful of his constant maxims, rode through his lines, and said, "Spare them, warriors! they are citizens!" When the camp was taken, the baggage of Pompey was

brought to him, containing all the letters of the nobles, who were his enemies, and of his pretended friends. Without opening them, he threw the whole into the fire. On the following day, the remains of the army surrendered. Cato alone, taking new courage, because it was now manifestly no longer the cause of Pompey, but of the laws, that he was defending, fled past Corcyra, to the African coast, in order to renew the war.

Pompey retreated through Thessaly to the sea. Misfortune could not destroy, in him, the feeling of his own dignity. In Lesbos he found his wife, and he sought and found consolation in the principles of philosophy, the study of which he had never intermitted. Uncertain whether to trust the wrecks of his fortune and his hopes to the Parthians, to the African Juba, or to the King of Egypt, he resolved, at length, upon the latter expedient, because the young Ptolemy was bound to him by ties of obligation. The father of Ptolemy, when expelled from his kingdom, had owed his restoration to Pompey. He undertook and completed this voyage, with admirable constancy, greater in calamity than when, thirty-four years before, in early youth, he marched in triumph to the Capitol; or when, at a later period, Asia had trembled before his name. On his arrival near Pelusium, he was beheaded, by order of a servant of Ptolemy, who was afraid to act honorably towards him. The body of the greatest of the Roman citizens, for Cæsar was no longer one, was burnt, meanly and privately, by a poor soldier who pitied his fate. When Cæsar saw his head, he wept. It was wanting to the splendor of his triumph, that he should have been able to save his illustrious adversary.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CÆSAR'S LAST WAR, AND HIS DEATH.

CATO, Juba, Scipio, Labienus, and the sons of Pompey, roused Africa, Sicily, and Spain; some, in the cause of Rome, others, to revenge their friend and father. Cæsar, detained in Egypt by a contrary wind, as he pretended, but, in reality, by the charms of Cleopatra, fell into great danger of being killed, in a tumult, occasioned by his attachment to that Princess. Scarcely would he have avoided the fate of his great rival, if he had not thrown himself into the sea, and escaped, by swimming, to a ship. In a battle, which took place soon after, the Egyptians fought, without decisive success, but not without reputation; and Ptolemæus Dionysius was drowned in the sea. Cæsar bestowed the kingdom of her fathers on the beautiful Cleopatra, who bore him two sons.

It is, however, probable, that Cæsar had other motives for delaying to prosecute the war against the partisans of Pompey, who were collecting to oppose him; otherwise, he would doubtless have followed them, after his departure from Alexandria: but he marched first into the Lesser Asia, and defeated the Pontic king, Pharnaces, who could not have been a formidable enemy. He wished to give his enemies time to collect their forces, in order that one battle might decide the contest.

Cato, with the same courage which he had displayed in the senate, and afterwards evinced in death, had effected an extremely difficult march, through the deserts of Africa, in which he seemed to have inspired his soldiers with his own magnanimity.

He gave up the chief command to Scipio, and they fought a valiant but unfortunate battle, at Thapsus, against Cæsar. The spirit of the party was now broken, and Cato gave his assistance to his friends for their

safe embarkation at Utica. After he had done all that was possible for them and for Rome, he filled his mind with the sentiment of the dignity of human nature, which elevates itself above time and chance, and "becomes, when it will, divine." Occupied with this thought, he gave up Rome to the conqueror, and, by a voluntary death, emancipated himself from all the power which the visible world possesses over those who know not themselves.

The question has been asked, "What would Cato not have been able to effect, if he had possessed a strength of mind which would have enabled him to wait for the death of Cæsar?" But Cato was too different from other men, to know how to govern them. His intrepidity was sufficiently great, and his last act cannot be seductive; for, in order to die such a death, it would be necessary to have lived like Cato.

Afterwards, Juba and Petreius supped together, and immediately killed themselves. Scipio escaped to a ship: having reached it, and finding himself discovered, he said, "Scipio is here, and is well;" and, saying these words, he slew himself. Scipio was not otherwise a great man; but every Roman had a sentiment, which finally elevated him above all earthly destinies.

The other leaders of Pompey's party betook themselves to Spain. Near Munda, a battle was fought, between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey, in which the former was in the utmost danger of being finally deserted by his good fortune. He was already lamenting the evil destiny, which had suffered him to live to that day, when a new effort gave him the victory, and cost the eldest of Pompey's sons his life. Towards the termination of this dreadful tragedy, both parties seemed to summon the utmost fortitude. The besiegers fought, as from a rampart of heaped-up bodies, against the defenders of the walls. A storm in the strait did not prevent a seafight between the two fleets, which happened to meet.

Cæsar, however, triumphed over Gaul, the Rhine,

Britain, Egypt, Pontus, Mauritania, and Spain. He was appointed dictator, for life; his person declared inviolable, and the title of 'Father of his Country' bestowed upon him. It was when the fate of an enemy depended upon him, that Cæsar chiefly followed the impulse of his feelings. When he had condemned to death Ligarius, against whom he was particularly enraged, Cicero, whom he had forgiven, pronounced an oration in his defence. Cæsar heard, unwillingly, the beginning of the speech, and sought to divert his attention from it, by reading a letter which he held in his hand; but, when Cicero came to the termination of his harangue, and addressed the Dictator, in these words: "Of all thy virtues, O Cæsar, mercy is the most admirable. Mortals become, then, like the gods, when they forgive; when they diffuse happiness around them. In thy exalted fortune, nothing is more noble than the occasions it affords thee, of exercising mercy and benevolence; nothing in thy nature more magnanimous, than the disposition which it displays to such actions:"—Cæsar partook of the emotion which was excited by the orator, and granted pardon to the accused. In like manner, he forgave the absent consul, Marcellus, in order to gratify the senate.

Since it was expedient that the legions should be employed, Cæsar resolved to avenge the death of Crassus against the Parthians, or to complete the conquest of the nations on the shores of the Euxine. As supreme Pontiff, he ordered an inquiry to be made into the chronological system, and a more accurate calendar to be prepared; and he formed a plan for a general code of laws. When we reflect on what he had accomplished and planned, in the space of a few months, and on all the crimes which he might have committed, not without specious excuses, and which he suffered himself not to perpetrate; when we also take into the account, that he appeared, at the same time, to desire the consolidation of his authority: we are authorized in inferring, that he would have sought to retain a pow-

er, so dearly purchased, and which could not be laid down with safety ; but that he would so have ruled, that both the empire would have obtained a regular constitution, and his successors would have found, in his reign, an example for their conduct.

Cæsar probably hoped to be allowed to complete his work, and that the Romans would forgive him his usurpation, as he had forgiven his enemies. Except in battle, scarcely any man had suffered by his means ; tranquillity and happiness had followed the civil war ; Cæsar himself was surrounded by men who had to thank him for their lives or for signal benefits : but the old republican spirit yet survived, and tribunes of the people dared to make complaints against the Dictator ; the most dangerous, however, were those who kept silence.

Marcus Brutus had imbibed the principles of Cato, which he combined with gentler manners. He believed it lawful to proceed to any extremities, for the liberty of Rome, yet, that more evil should not be done, than was absolutely necessary ; and, judging from ancient examples, he concluded, that a single act might suffice for the restoration of the republic. We are not permitted, according to him, to consider the distempers of our country as incurable, or to fail in attempting every thing, for the revival of ancient virtue. He did not wish to reign, and he had no private animosities to gratify : but Brutus was a Roman, and thought he ought to acknowledge no other sovereign than the law. His friend, Cassius, was discontented, at not being made consul ; his virtue was not so formidable as his contempt of life. Whoever fears not death is always to be feared. The remembrance of the principles in which every individual had been educated ; the eloquence with which historians had celebrated Harmodius and Aristogiton, and other similar personages ; a spirit of patriotism, noble, but not sufficiently enlightened with respect to the state of Rome ; together with some private motives ; gave origin to a close association between

men, who, in their principles and manners, had otherwise no resemblance. Cæsar was stabbed by them, in the senate-house, and fell, pierced by twenty-three wounds.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CIVIL WAR OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS.

THE destruction of the ancient constitution of a free country produces such an impression, that the act of Brutus, in all ages, has been justified by many, and excused by others. If we consider the characters of most of the rulers, into whose hands Cæsar's unbounded power descended ; if we put into the scale, the total loss of the ancient Roman virtues, the ruin of the empire, the long night of barbarism which ensued, and the irrecoverable loss of the arts and sciences ; we feel assured, that, if Cæsar's illustrious shade could behold these consequences, it would lament the occasion of them. If we advert to the sequel of his assassination, to the crimes of the three new tyrants, the blood that was shed at Philippi, the impossibility of maintaining a republic without morals, or of preserving morals in so great a republic ; if we weigh all these circumstances well, we shall perceive, that it was not Julius Cæsar, but the unjust spirit of conquest which prevailed at Rome, that was the cause of her calamities. When we reflect, how difficult it is to have all things within our grasp, without an occasional abuse of power ; when we recognise, by an inward self-examination, how uncertain it is, whether we ourselves, in the like case, should act with greater moderation ; we are inclined to forgive Rome her conquests, and Cæsar his usurpation ; we lament the weakness of reason, in her contest with the passions ; and we receive an admonition in our own breasts, to use greater diligence in moderating our own desires.

After Cæsar's death, Marcus Antonius, one of his best officers, a man of talents and energy, but given up to dissolute pleasures, attempted to turn the confusion of public affairs, as much as possible, to his own advantage. The young Octavius, whom Cæsar, his great uncle, had appointed his heir, was treated by Antony without much consideration, as a youth of unripe age, till it became manifest how capable Octavius was, of assuming all the virtues and perpetrating the crimes necessary for acquiring and maintaining power. Lepidus, a rich man, of noble family, but in personal qualities far their inferior, associated himself, in the sequel, with Octavius and Antony.

Immediately after Cæsar's death, Cicero hoped to preserve peace, by ratifying all his acts, and by dismissing the conspirators into the provinces allotted to them, and by a general amnesty. To the pretensions of Antony, the young Cæsar Octavius,—to whom many of the soldiers of the late Dictator adhered,—was opposed, with the most flattering distinction, as the man on whom Rome rested her chief hopes.

The first war broke out, by an attempt of Antony to drive Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, out of his province of Cisalpine Gaul. Antony held him besieged in Mutina, or Modena. The young Cæsar gave, by adopting the will of his late uncle, the first proof of courage. "If Cæsar," said he to his mother and stepfather, who urged him to refuse, "if Cæsar judged me worthy of his name, how shall I bring myself to declare that I am unworthy of it!" He had, on this conjuncture, the prudence to agree with the senate, so long as he could confide in it more securely than in Antony. He felt no reluctance in uniting his army, at first inconsiderable, with that which the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa led to the relief of Modena, and in assisting to relieve the murderer of his uncle. Antony was forced to take flight; Cicero again armed himself with that eloquence, with which, twenty years before, he had saved Rome from Catiline.

Octavius Cæsar was flattered, but not honored with the consulate so soon as he wished. The extreme promptitude early observed in him, to adopt any measures which led to the desired object, and to sacrifice all things, without reluctance, to his end, which was the attainment of power, soon created apprehension. It was believed, by many, that the consuls who had fallen before Modena had been killed, not without his secret contrivance. Yet it was not supposed to be a difficult matter to get rid of this youth, when Antony should once have fallen.

The latter fled from Modena into Transalpine Gaul, where Lepidus and Plancus commanded armies, as it was supposed, for the senate. He had the good fortune to gain friends among the army of Lepidus, and he ventured, knowing the weakness of this General, into his camp. Instead of putting him to death, as the most dangerous enemy of the republic, Lepidus was gained over by him. Plancus, who always served the strongest party, followed this example. The jealousy between the senate and young Cæsar increased. Under these circumstances, he received the following proposals from Antony: "Is Cæsar determined always to wage war for those who hate him, and for the murderers of his father, against the old friend of the latter, who would avenge his death? In this case, Antony sees himself compelled to embrace the party of Brutus and Cassius, against him. Octavius may reflect, whether a combination for carrying on Cæsar's work would not be more congruous to circumstances, to their mutual interests, and to nature."

The negotiation, thus entered into, was completed, in a meeting, which the young Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, held on a little island, formed by the Ghironda and Lavino, not far from Bologna. Here, they resolved to maintain, and agreed upon a division of, the supreme power, and arranged tables of proscription for the destruction of their common enemies; three hundred senators, two thousand knights, and many other respect-

able citizens, were involved in this calamity. As Antony gave up to the animosity of the others his uncle, Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his own brother, Paulus, Octavian also betrayed Cicero, who had assisted him against Antony, whom his uncle and father had loved and distinguished, who had not taken the smallest share in the conspiracy, and could not be formidable, without support. Cicero was murdered by Popillius Læna, whose life and honor he had saved by a defensive oration. In the sixty-fourth year of his life, weary of the corrupt age in which he lived, Tullius died, with unexpected constancy, and left behind him a better name than those who sacrificed him; and Octavian, to his latest years, after he had long been called Augustus, felt, with grief, that he had stained his laurels by this act.

[B. C. 42.] The horrors of the age of Marius and Sylla revived. Antony also caused the heads of murdered senators to be brought to him, during his meals; and Fulvia stuck through with needles the tongue with which Cicero had faithfully depicted the character of her husband. Private hatred and interest were the secret motives of many cold-blooded murders perpetrated under political pretexts. The Roman character was lost.

The triumvirs now undertook the pursuit of Cassius, who had made himself master of Syria, and of Brutus, who governed Macedonia. They possessed, together, a force of seventeen legions; they ruled their provinces equitably, and were formidable only to Dolabella, C. Antonius, P. Vatinius, and other bad citizens.

[B. C. 40.] The war undertaken against them was terminated at Philippi, in Macedonia. Brutus fought with the resolution of a man who is sure of not surviving a defeat; he took the camp of Octavius, and the victory was on his side. Before Cassius received information of this good fortune, he was deceived, by the shortness of his sight; and, believing every thing to be lost, he hastened to destroy himself. After a few days, Brutus suffered a loss; he felt that his enemies gained the ascendancy, and despaired of Rome and the cause

of virtue ; he resolved to terminate the war, which he waged against his inclination, and slew himself. The son of Cato also fell, together with the young Lucullus, educated by Cato, and his faithful friend, Volumnius, a son of Hortensius, who was worthy of his father ; with Varus, in the insignia of his office, Drusus Livius, the father of Livia ; and many others, who could not resolve to outlive Brutus, and Cassius, and the liberty of Rome.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE UNION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE RULER.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS, the son of the great Pompey, was still in arms, and carried on, for many years, a maritime war against Cæsar Octavianus, in which the latter experienced great difficulties. Still greater commotions were occasioned by the private passions of the triumvirs. Fulvia, the widow of Clodius and wife of Antony, excited a war, by means of her sister's husband, whom she engaged in a contest against Octavian. Lepidus often vacillated, until Octavian succeeded in seducing his army from him, and excluding him from the chief power. The citizens were sacrificed by all parties ; the brother of Antony was forgiven ; while the city of Perusia, which had declared itself for him, was burnt. How many families were deprived of their property, before estates had been distributed to the forty-seven legions of Octavian ! before the continually-renewed demands of military expenditure were satisfied !

In the mean time, Pacorus, son of king Orodes, fell victoriously upon the Lesser Asia. Ventidius forced the Parthian back into his territories ; but the Triumvir Antony, who designed to avenge Rome, thought himself fortunate in escaping from a country, with the natural peculiarities of which he was unacquainted, after losing a fourth part of his army and nearly all his bag-

gage. Thenceforth, he devoted himself entirely to Queen Cleopatra ; the fortitude of the warrior was lost, in all kinds of licentiousness, in an effeminate life, and in the most capricious undertakings. His pride remained ; and he offended his more prudent colleague, by divorcing Octavia, the sister of the latter.

Octavianus Cæsar was not less prone than Antony to sensual pleasures ; but the greater exertion which was required to govern Rome than Alexandria ; to control the scarcely subdued republic, than to domineer over the slaves of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies ; inspired him early with a vigilant prudence. Policy, indeed, rather than war, was, in general, his talent ; his fate had thrown him into the former, from his nineteenth year. On that account, he was the more ready to found his authority on the will of the senate and people, and to observe, during his life, the form of laying down his command, every tenth year, as an extraordinary trust granted to him, for a certain time, and of suffering himself to be entreated to resume it. Thus he deceived the Romans, during fifty years, with the phantom of their republic.

When Antony was preparing for arms, Octavianus found means to give the war, which he undertook as if unwillingly, the appearance of a contest, waged by him, against a plan for subjecting Rome to an Egyptian woman, and burying all the forms of freedom under the establishment of kingly power. Marcus Agrippa, a man of great intellect and indefatigable energy, was the friend of Octavian, incapable, by his want of power, of usurping for himself, and sheltered, by his known integrity, from the suspicion of such a design. This able General, who had already conquered Sextus Pompeius, was the soul of the war, on Cæsar's side. He led into Greece eight legions and five cohorts, and about two hundred and fifty galleys. Antony's ships were larger, but Agrippa's were more manageable. He made himself master of many ports, and was thus enabled to cut off Antony's supplies and reinforcements. The latter conducted himself with the carelessness of an experi-

enced general, who had exhausted his strength in the bosom of voluptuousness. His army, commanded by Sosius and Publicola, manifested a good disposition; but the Queen, in the seafight off the promontory of Actium, set the example of seeking safety in flight; and Antony, as soon as he was informed of it, followed her. Thus abandoned, his soldiers, for the most part, surrendered, and were forgiven by Octavian, who afterwards proceeded to Egypt, and, without difficulty, conquered the remainder of the forces of his enemy. On a report of the death of the Queen, Antony killed himself. She survived, and still had reliance on the power of her charms; but she found the heart of her conqueror sealed against her. Cleopatra then disdained life; the daughter of the Ptolemies, she, whom Cæsar had loved and Antony adored, in order to avoid gracing the triumphal car of the Victor, destroyed herself by the bite of an asp, or by means of a poisoned needle.

[B. C. 29.] In the two hundred and ninety-third year from the death of Alexander the Great, the kingdom of Egypt became a Roman province. In the same year, the four hundred and seventy-ninth from the establishment of the Roman Consulate, in the seven hundred and twenty-fourth year from the building of the city, Cæsar Octavianus, now Augustus, the revered, the inviolable, became sole ruler of the Roman world. He possessed all the power which had hitherto been exercised by the consuls, whose office still continued, and by the tribunes of the people; with the supreme administration of the Roman arms, and the government of the provinces most important in military affairs. The legions obtained their rewards, the Roman people bread and public shows, and the empire peace. The forms of the constitution remained, but obedience became the first of virtues. Under the gentle reign of Octavian, which lasted forty-four years, from this time, the republic was forgotten; even old men remembered only its corruptions, its civil wars, and its proscriptions.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK VII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE CÆSARS,

FROM

B. C. 29, TO A. D. 284.

BOOK VII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE CÆSARS, AS LONG AS
THE FORMS OF THE REPUBLIC WERE PRESERVED.—B. C.
29, TO A. D. 284.

CHAPTER I.

AUGUSTUS.

IT is only in a great number of comparatively small states, that many illustrious men appear. A mighty empire reposes its confidence in the strength of its mass and the multitude of its resources ; the dangers that threaten it appear, for a long time, only imaginary ; and merit, by its own excellence, is seldom elevated to a conspicuous place. As soon as ignoble means lead, with equal certainty, to fortune and splendor, the minds of men become enervated, and the gigantic body is soon without a soul. Such was the fate of Rome. When the empire seemed to have no longer any thing to apprehend, and the sport of factions had ceased, the race of great men became extinct. Most of the Cæsars, of whom very few were worthy of their high rank, were afraid of splendid talents, which gave to private men an independent greatness. For, as there was no law which defined the succession to the throne ; a noble descent or riches ; fame, acquired in discharging public offices, or the wise and magnanimous refusal of such dignities ; eloquence and shining virtues ; were objects of jealousy and apprehension, with the Cæsars and their houses. A man, who appeared bold enough to conceive the lofty idea of raising himself to the supreme power, as well as he whom the public voice named the best and most worthy, was almost sure of attract-

ing suspicious observation, and, in general, of suffering a violent death. The great and good emperors were neither the offspring of the sovereigns who preceded them, nor the descendants of the old Roman conquerors; but commonly warriors elected, who had raised themselves by military talents from a private station, and often from the meanest rank. Those who acquired the throne, by succession, were corrupted by early indulgences; and, for the most part, slaves of their appetites or parasites of the court.

After the arms of Octavian, under the conduct of Agrippa, had destroyed the last participator in the sovereignty, and there now existed, neither at Rome, nor in the whole empire, any powerful rival at the head of a considerable party of troops, the victorious chief sought anxiously to conceal from the eyes of the people and the army the secret, that his authority only depended upon arms, and to hold out the unanimous wish of the free senate and people of Rome as its true foundation. He justly feared nothing so much, for himself and for the commonwealth, as to fall under the dominion of the soldiery: and he surrounded himself with the forms of the republic, as affording an honorable sanction to his power. Under the name of Augustus, which he now assumed, he seems to have affected to rule with paternal authority, and to claim from the world that veneration, which is due to the paternal character.

In his administration, Augustus followed the counsels of the Roman knight, Cilnius Mæcenas, who possessed great activity in discovering and suppressing dangerous enterprises, and appeared, at the same time, so indolent, so much given up to tranquil enjoyment, and of so careless a character, that none believed him to be endowed with so much vigilance and circumspection. Mæcenas taught Augustus to become popular and humane; he surrounded him with the most enlightened men of his age, and inspired him with a noble passion for great and honorable pursuits. Augustus wished to

be, in reality, the father and benefactor of Rome, though he was still more anxious to appear in that character; and he forebore every thing which might have rendered his extraordinary power odious, with as much care, as a prince of common mind would have taken to render his power conspicuous.

Thus, the senate punished, according to the laws, Egnatius and Muræna, who had had the audacity to set on foot a conspiracy against Augustus, while he appeared to take no notice of the affair, and forbade even his confidants (for he knew the happiness of having friends) to call him master: he was only a chief, elected by freemen to watch, for ten years, over the public safety. In this view, he was well pleased, when the people sometimes passed by those whom he recommended to dignities and offices. He was well satisfied that Pollio, and other powerful men, should speak in the senate, with apparent freedom; and conceived no displeasure against Titus Livius, for appearing, in his history, favorable to the party of Pompey.

There was nothing in the regulation of his household, by which he was remarkably distinguished from the rich senators. He not only loved good society, but was anxious to give perpetual exercise to his talents: he accustomed himself, every day, to read, and to make some comments on the subjects of his study. The manners of the old republic prevailed in his outward demeanor, and his table was moderate. It is true, that he had powerful appetites, from the gratification of which, even policy could not restrain him; but this was known to few; and he sought, by all means, to avoid publicity in such matters. He exerted his whole authority in restraining the effects of his own example; and he spoke, in the senate, against corruption of manners, as a censor or a father of his people. Few men have known, so well as Augustus, the human heart; he appeared not so much to regard any excess, as effeminacy of character, and the habit of being occupied with trifles; nor so much to dread that the Romans

should have vices, as that they should become incapable of virtues.

While thus governing, as it seemed, against his own will, according to the laws, and only for the common good ; he disbanded twenty legions, and restored thirty thousand slaves, who, during the war, had been levied into the service, to their former masters. He treated the army with a dignified gentleness ; he no longer named the soldiers "*his comrades*," but "*warriors* ;" and he kept them under discipline, and allowed them no privilege, that should raise them much above other men. He suffered the wars against the barbarous hordes in Spain, in the Alps, in Dalmatia, Germany, Pannonia, Africa, and the East, to be carried on with no more exertion than seemed necessary, in order to maintain on the borders the terror of the Roman arms, and the military spirit of the legions. The empire received, under him, few augmentations of any importance ; the Parthians, the Indians, the Arabs of Yemen, and some German nations, paid homage to him, by embassies ; but he three times closed the temple of Janus, because all the world was in peace. He avoided all great movements, and compared an emperor who sought wars, "to a fisherman who throws golden nets ;" and remarked, that the "laurel is a beautiful plant, but barren." He introduced, by degrees, the maxim not to extend the empire ; and sought to render its mighty name less odious and terrible, and wished to afford tranquillity to the nations.

It is true, that the new government, while it maintained the forms of the commonwealth, never acquired the genuine maxims of monarchy ; and, when the manners and the spirit of the republic were wholly extinct, no other principles were substituted for them, but the whole fabric fell upon its own ruins, without order or system. But this want required to be supplied, according to circumstances, not under Augustus, but by some illustrious legislator among his successors ; and such a one never appeared. So much the more needful, were

the good fortune of Rome, the harmony of individual parts, and the remains of republican virtue, in order to maintain, for centuries, this prodigious extent of power, under such essential defects.

Augustus adorned the city; and he exerted himself to promote its population, and to induce the great to reside, for the most part, in Rome, under his eyes. Public magnificence was suitable to his policy; since it gave a feeling and an appearance of general happiness, which increased the love and veneration of the supreme magistrate.

Three things were wanting to the happiness of Augustus: in the first place, he was not able to erase from the memory of history the acts of his youth and the tables of proscription; secondly, avaricious and negligent generals had suffered the German, Arminius, to gain a great victory over the legions; and, lastly, the gods refused him the good fortune of leaving Rome under a successor worthy of his esteem. Yet the apparent necessity of the case lessened the guilt of the first; the victory of Arminius remained, on account of the great inferiority of his power, without lasting or immediate consequences; and it has been said that Augustus might expect the more favor from posterity, towards his own memory, as there was less of virtue in his successor. In the seventy-sixth year of a life, on the whole, very prosperous, and even beneficent, Augustus finished, like a skilful performer, his well-acted part on the theatre of the world.

CHAPTER II.

TIBERIUS.

TIBERIUS, the step-son of Augustus, whom that Prince had adopted, carefully secured the choice of the soldiers, and suffered himself to be entreated by

the senate to accept the chief honors, which, for many years, he had sought, by every means. During his reign, a new system of government gradually began to display itself.

Tiberius was a chief, of no mean acquirements in military tactics, and, in the arts of dissimulation, a rival of his predecessor; but, as he had lived, till his fifty-fifth year, in the midst of intrigues and evasions, his mind had become incapable of any elevated or noble sentiment. Under the long sway of his father, servility and flattery had at length made such a progress, that Tiberius had never learnt to estimate men; he only knew them on the contemptible or dangerous side. He had all the faults of Augustus, and none of his virtues. He was distinguished from succeeding tyrants by being, at first, cruel, according to system, and, by degrees, giving a looser rein to the impulses of a soul darkened by anxious timidity, and of an unfeeling heart; while his successors allowed themselves, from the first, whatever delirious rage or base envy suggested to them; whatever their own passions or insinuated suspicions counselled.

The vigilance of Augustus was at length fatiguing to Tiberius; but he wanted courage to abolish the forms which recalled the memory of ancient times and institutions; and he preferred to destroy, under various pretences, all, who, either by their personal qualities in the senate, or by preponderating influence elsewhere, appeared able or desirous to attain to public honors.

Tiberius felt himself under restraint, until he had seen the end of the noble Germanicus, the chief object of his anxious vigilance, who perished, not without suspicion of poison; but he afterwards loosened the rein, more and more, to his atrocious passions. [A. D. 16.] He had formed himself a cabinet, or secret council, of twenty chief senators; of these, eighteen were put to death, by his command, and the nineteenth destroyed himself.

From this time, the Roman history puts on a gloomy

aspect ; the great names of antiquity were exterminated, or we observe them, with far keener regret, disgraced by their posterity. Now, we hear the mandates of the hoary tyrant, inspired by a gloomy policy, issue from the inaccessible palaces of Capreæ, the abodes of sensual vice ; now, in the Capitol, we behold the turbulent fury of senseless youth on the pinnacle of the world. All the laws of reason and of the former ages were obscured and trodden down, by the new code of treason ; the provinces were exhausted, by the cupidity of governors, and laid waste, by the incursions of barbarians.

Tiberius humiliated the Roman people, by abolishing the Comitia. To preserve discipline was less the object of his care, than to prevent any general from becoming formidable to him ; yet he neither changed the military commanders, nor the governors of provinces, so often as might have been supposed, for it was difficult for him to resolve on the choice of new servants, and he was apprehensive of having discontented subjects. Cautious age was less the object of his suspicion than adventurous youth.

CHAPTER III.

CAIUS.—CLAUDIUS.—NERO.

AUGUSTUS had seen the republic and the great Cæsar ; under Augustus, Tiberius had been in some measure formed. [A.D. 39.] Caius Cæsar Caligula was acquainted only with tyranny ; he knew that every thing was within his power, and committed the most violent excesses, as if to try how much mankind would endure.

[A.D. 41.] When Chærea had freed the world from Caligula, the senate imagined themselves able to abolish the memory of the Cæsars, and reorganize the

republic of Rome. But, in the course of twice twenty-four hours, the assembly learnt that the prætorian guard had given away the sovereignty. The object of their choice was Claudius Cæsar, a victim of sloth and the most contemptible passions, and the pattern of those princes, who are given up to the gratification of their own desires. He became, by his abject indolence, the mere tool of his women and slaves. He did not keep two catalogues of the senators and knights who were destined to death, as Caligula had done; the box of poison which that tyrant concealed, for the destruction of worthy citizens, was ordered, by Claudius, to be thrown into the sea; yet, during the thirteen years of his reign, thirty-five senators and three hundred knights fell, by violent deaths.

[A. D. 54.] After this ignominious reign, the abject servility of which excited a stronger feeling than any of the more violent atrocities which had preceded; the five first years of Nero's government afforded a respite to the world, of which the cruelty of the nine following rendered it more sensible.

Nero was not destitute of talents, or devoid of a feeling for virtue; but a too early abandonment to voluptuousness, the hypocrisy of his mother and his instructor, and the sophistry of his flatterers, who knew how to give a false color to every action, seem to have rendered him, at length, wholly indifferent even to appearances. The old patricians had little influence; they were feared, hated, and exterminated; the plebeians, whose senseless spirit of faction had raised the first Cæsar above the laws, were now no more; the generals, to whom, or to whose fathers, the emperors owed their sovereignty, were kept at a distance, from jealous suspicion. Slaves, whose wit or personal recommendations had gained their freedom, became the rulers of the court and empire, the protectors and terror of the provinces. All the passions of the Monarch cost sacrifices; and, where he had no passions to be gratified, the more shamelessly did the influence of those

wretches display itself, by whom his will was governed. The pursuit of honors, to which ambition or poverty had prompted, was extinguished, together with the spirit of conquest; and that confidence in themselves which discipline gives to armies, was lost, when the exercise of arms was neglected. The soldiery were insolent, because they alone were flattered, amidst the general servility; and the more they became aware of their influence, the more insecure and tottering was the throne.

Nero, before the thirty-second year of his age, had murdered his mother, his brother, his guardians, his tutor, many senators and citizens; he had burnt the greater part of the city, out of mere wantonness; had set at defiance, more publicly than any other man had yet done, all laws, even those of Nature; he had sacrificed, to his thirst of blood, not only Poppæa, the instrument of his passions, but virtue herself, represented in the person of Thræsea; and he finally escaped, by voluntary death, the vengeance of the impatient world. [A.D. 68.] The flames of civil war were now rekindled, with new violence.

Already, the rebellion of Vindex had been quelled, by Virginius Rufus, a man of primitive virtue; but Servius Galba, an old warrior, of good family and unimpeached reputation, was scarcely elected Cæsar, when Nero's party put him to death, and raised Salvius Otho, the companion of the tyrant's pleasures, to the purple. In Otho, voluptuousness had not extinguished all noble and heroic feelings. When he had learnt that the army in Germany [A.D. 69] had called Vitellius from the banqueting table to the throne, and that fortune had favored his generals, in the battle of Bedriacum, Otho destroyed himself, in order to spare the blood of his countrymen. Thereupon, the legions which lay before Jerusalem resolved to elevate the most worthy to the highest dignity; and Vespasian was approaching Rome, when Vitellius paid for a short career of pleasure by a violent death.

Flavius Vespasianus was summoned from the Jewish war to the government of the world ; his son Titus was left to fulfil the counsel of Providence, with respect to Jerusalem. The tyranny of the Roman Prætor, dreadful civil dissensions, and a stiffnecked adherence to an erroneous interpretation of the old prophets, which flattered their vanity, cost the Jewish people the lives of thirteen hundred thousand persons, [A. D. 70,] the existence of their noble metropolis, and their place of national union, the temple of Jehovah. Scarcely was the extermination of the whole people of Helvetia prevented by the pleading of a pathetic orator. Civilis excited Gaul to insurrection ; the Germans crossed the Rhine ; Syria was threatened by the Parthians ; while, at Rome, the Capitol was consumed amid the terrors of a turbulent sedition. Every street and hall of justice was polluted by bloodshed, by the violence of the soldiery, and the cries of the populace. Under Nero, the first Christians had lately suffered, on the flaming pile, for their contempt of the public rites, which still prevailed.

We are unable to say, whether the patience of men, or the wantonness of guilt, in the period that preceded the reigns of the Flavii, is the most astonishing. While legions pined in captivity, among the Parthians, and Britain revolted, the rich citizens of Rome trembled before Nero, who sought, in confiscations and slaughters, the sources of revenue, whence his lavish expenditure was supplied. After the parents of noble families, in the time of Messalina, had feared to forbid the prostitution of their daughters ; after Agrippina had sought, in vain, by her personal charms, to enslave her son, afterwards her murderer ; the Roman senate, scarcely a hundred years from the death of Cato, was assembled to witness a contract of marriage between the emperor and two slaves. This Nero, who had projected to destroy the whole senate, by poison, found friends, after his death ; it was fashionable to profess to imitate him, and monuments were raised to his memory. Man, debased and corrupt, is glad to find cele-

brated examples, to still the secret alarms of his own conscience ; and crimes lose their appearance of guilt, when they become the fashion of the times.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FLAVII.

UNDER Vespasian, Rome obtained a respite of nine years, from these convulsions. The most enterprising of the factious chiefs had fallen in the wars, and the more fortunate of them hailed the enjoyment of repose. Although the Emperor had to thank the army for his throne, he permitted himself to be formally invested, by a decree of the senate, with “the privileges of assembling that body as often as might be necessary ; of bringing before them five propositions, in each session ; of confirming or annulling their resolutions ; of promoting those, whom they considered as most worthy, to civil and military dignities and offices ; of freely adopting whatever measures might be serviceable to the commonwealth, to general and private happiness, and to good order, in divine and human affairs ; of being elevated, as Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, had been, above the laws ; of making war, peace, and leagues of alliance, and otherwise exercising all power, as Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, had done, in such a manner, that no decree of the senate, no order of the people, could be empowered to impede the rights intrusted to him by this edict, or to interfere with the exercise of the same.”

Rome was restored to rest, and, as soon as military discipline was reestablished, the Parthians submitted to a treaty of peace ; a regular administration of the finances became, to every wealthy citizen, a guarantee of his security ; and, under this reign, and that of Titus which followed, the treasury was the resource of the

unfortunate. The ignominious profession of informer lost its profit; vigilance detected, and mild treatment put to shame, the conspirators. Vespasian and Titus lived, as confidential friends, with the best and wisest men; and, in times of peace, the senate insured stability and respect to the imperial authority. Vespasian was just. Titus was the delight of mankind, and one of the most virtuous of the human race. [A. D. 79.]

[A. D. 81.] It is true, that his brother Domitian had not courage to be honest; he was jealous of the illustrious senators, and caused several of them to be put to death. He witnessed with pleasure, if he did not accelerate, the death of Agricola, his best general, the real conqueror of Britain. Yet, though he had all the inclinations of Nero, Domitian ventured not so far; he was not without merits, and was desirous of fame in military exploits, which he wished to be thought to direct; and he sought to immortalize himself, by adding ornaments to the city. He was cruel, only through timidity; he was almost continually surrounded with eunuchs; and pretended to be invulnerable, in the vain conceit of passing for a god.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROSPEROUS TIMES OF THE EMPIRE.

IN the mean time, there arose, in the Roman world, in the place of the old republican virtue, a lofty elevation of character, founded on the maxims of the Stoics, to desire nothing passionately, and to fear nothing, in the career of virtue. Men of superior minds found consolation, in their inward greatness, for the loss of political power, and were happy, even amidst calamities. The most noble of the senators were Stoics; this doctrine imparted to them dignity, without rendering them objects of alarm, and the rulers of the world were

willing to allow, that philosophy employs the minds of illustrious men with a dignity, more worthy of them than worldly greatness.

[A.D. 96.] After Domitian had been assassinated, his successor, Nerva, a venerable old man, confided the cares of government, which were too heavy for himself, to Trajan.

[A.D. 98.] During more than two hundred years, the senate was accustomed to hail every new emperor with the exclamation, "Reign fortunately, as Augustus; virtuously, as Trajan." He was the greatest of the Cæsars, since the time of the Dictator, and the best of them all, since he had no civil war, no injustice, to reproach himself with. The greatest and most estimable qualities were in him so balanced, that no place was given for excess, in any of them; and we may doubt, whether his excellent understanding and heroic spirit deserve more veneration, or his goodness, and the amiable complexion of his whole character, excite more affectionate esteem. Never was a monarch so enterprising, so great in his designs, so persevering in the completion of them, and, at the same time, so little anxious for external splendor; so gracious to all the citizens, and on such terms of equality with his friends. Trajan extended the bounds of the empire, which had been maintained with difficulty, since the time of Augustus, beyond the fruitful plains and mountains of Dacia, which included Moldavia and Transylvania. On Caucasus, he subdued the hordes who disturbed Asia; the emirs of the Arabian desert acknowledged his commands; and, at length, Crassus was revenged, and the plans of Cæsar were accomplished. He conquered the Parthian residence of Ctesiphon; he sent ships to India; and his age alone prevented him from renewing the exploits of Alexander. This illustrious conqueror, as he walked through the streets of Rome, permitted every citizen to accost him with freedom. Among his friends, he indulged in wine; but we are only informed of this excess, in consequence of the in-

junction which he gave, never to perform the orders he might issue, at such times. In the like manner, when he delivered his sword to the captain of his guard, he said, "For me, if I govern well; against me, if I would become a tyrant." During his reign, which lasted nineteen years, only one senator was capitally punished, and he had been found worthy of death by his colleagues. Many exactions, in the provinces, were mitigated or remitted by him; he wished to place his treasure in the hearts of his people, who were devoted to him. In the choice of his ministers and friends, he gave the preference to men of the greatest industry and most simple manners. The legal system of Rome was brought to perfection, under his guidance; and he ornamented the city and the empire with magnificent buildings, and founded an extensive library. [A.D. 117.] All the nations, whose wounds he healèd, revered him as a vicegerent of the beneficent gods, and their tears were his most eloquent panegyric. From Cilicia, where he died, in the town of Seleucia, his body was conveyed to Rome. It was received by the senate and people, carried in pomp into the city, and deposited in the forum named after him, under that pillar, one hundred and forty feet in height, on which his exploits are inscribed. That pillar yet defies the impotence of time, as the name of Trajan rises above the oblivion and indifference in which history has involved the multitude of kings.

This greatest and best successor of Cæsar had been educated in the camp; for military virtues survived all others. When we compare him with Augustus, the good qualities of the latter appear the effect of prudence and wise design; while those of Trajan flowed from the impulses of his natural feelings.

The Emperor Adrian, of whom it is not certain whether he was in reality adopted by Trajan, was, without being equal to him, worthy of succeeding him. He had a genius, capable of embracing the most extensive views, and the most minute details of affairs and of literature. He gave the empire ramparts against

the barbarians of Caledonia and of Germany; he appeased the Parthians, by the restoration of conquered lands, and established, in that quarter, the natural boundaries; he suppressed, with reputation, the dangerous rebellion of the Jews, under Bar-Chocheba; passed, on foot, through all the districts of his extensive empire, and made particular inquiry into the affairs of every province; he regulated the court, with an order and propriety that became a pattern to his successors on the throne. We therefore forgive him, for fancying that he knew more than Phavorinus, on matters of profound learning, and for suffering the decline of good taste to become visible in his wonderful edifices. He was, in every respect, more given up to his passions than Trajan, even in the vices with which they were both contaminated. Adrian did not resist his anger and impatience so successfully as his predecessor; he caused some senators to be put to death, without sufficient reason. In all other things, he was great and noble; yet the base senate, after his death, hesitated in approving his administration.

[A. D. 138.] After the death of his beloved Ælius Verus, he adopted the gentle Antoninus, who does not appear to have equalled him, in fervor of genius, but who obtained renown, by his simple and beneficent virtues. The latter was revered, as a venerable and indulgent father, and was chosen, with confidence, by neighboring nations, as the arbiter of their disputes. After a tranquil and blameless reign of twenty-three years, he performed his most meritorious act, in bequeathing the empire of Rome to an accomplished philosopher, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. [A. D. 161.]

All these emperors seemed to possess the throne, as being the best and wisest of the citizens; an indefatigable diligence, a salutary care of the duties of government, was the only thing that distinguished them; there was nothing remarkable in their private enjoyments, except that they had it in their power to diffuse more happiness around them. They were more easy of ac-

cess than patricians oftentimes have been, in republican states. Adrian even allowed familiar jokes, to his friends, as he possessed wit enough for ready and excellent replies, and the law against treason fell into oblivion. During a time of scarcity, stones were thrown at the good Antoninus, as he passed through the forum; he stood still, explained the occasion of the evil, and the measures of relief which he had adopted. Never did so great a portion of the human race enjoy a longer period of prosperity than under the reigns of these princes, which consoled them for the loss of the republic.

The only exception that can be made against them is, that they neglected to provide for posterity, by introducing a stable and well-regulated constitution.

Marcus Aurelius, who, in the closet, investigated the principles of morals, in the field of war, defeated the Germans, who, for the first time since the days of Marius, had combined, in a formidable conspiracy, had passed their boundaries, and were approaching Italy; and he showed the Parthians, that a long peace had not enervated the legions. With these exceptions, the military strength of Rome, which had flourished in times of greater necessity, and amidst commotions, seems to have decayed, under these good sovereigns. The defect was not remarked, so long as the empire, under such rulers, had little need of great commanders; but it was afterwards found destitute. We might be tempted to believe, that the Stoical silence of the passions leaves, indeed, to reason her due supremacy; but that, in order to form a character, strong, and at the same time sufficiently flexible, under the variety of conditions presented by human life, more of genius is required, than falls to the lot of contemplative minds. It was a work almost beyond the power of man, to give the Roman mind an entirely new stamp, and to impart to all the nations of the Roman world that unity of character, so necessary for the maintenance of the common good. Accordingly, the barbarians, in the sequel,

found, on one side, a neglect of morals, and, on the other, an enervated and impotent virtue.

The Stoics would have done better, if they had endeavored to direct the passions, rather than to abolish them. Stagnation is death; and it was because the colossal empire of Rome had no longer a soul, that it began to suffer dissolution. While the Stoic morality delivered precepts, which are too elevated for the greater part of mankind, it gave rise, on the one side, to much hypocrisy, and, on the other, caused many persons to doubt, altogether, the possibility of a virtue, which required so much purity. These philosophers were too coldly metaphysical; they diffused rather a serene light, than a fire which burns up and destroys the germ of guilt.

While the public good seemed ever to become more and more the care of a single individual; while these good emperors moved the whole mass, by the simple impulse of their minds, military discipline declined. This decay was not conspicuous, under Marcus Aurelius, whom the armies revered, but it displayed itself, after his reign, to the common misfortune. Trajan had employed the soldiery, because their idleness appeared eminently dangerous for him and for the state, and because his enlightened judgement did not fail to perceive, through the glare of outward splendor, the inevitable weakness of universal empire. He felt how necessary it was, ever to maintain, among the neighboring nations, a new impression of terror before the arms of the legions. Adrian, who bore the same relation to him which Augustus held to Julius, affected to hold nothing as justifiable, in which he could not rival his predecessor. He probably possessed more inclination for the details of tactics than ability for great plans of warfare. At the same time, the boundaries were secured,—a task, like that which Alexander seems to have attempted in Caucasus, as far as Derbent; Trajan had drawn a long fortification, of which traces are yet discoverable, from Peterwaradyn to the Don.

Adrian erected a wall with many towers along the boundaries of Germany ; Antoninus, between Britain and Caledonia. Such works were effective, in affording protection against sudden accidents ; but the living wall, the legions, depended too much on such defence, and it seemed impossible that the barbarians could still be formidable.

The writers of those times no longer rise to the elevation of the ancients, and the flight of the Stoical philosophy does not appear so natural. We remark a difference, like that which distinguishes the fruits which an excellent soil brings forth, in the full bloom of their beauty and vigor, from those which are forced by artificial means. We do not fail to perceive the impression of the good and sensible Plutarch, who was very worthy of having a Trajan for his pupil ; but the great soul, which lives in his writings, is that of the heroes he describes, and of the ancient time from which he drew his materials and resources. The finest original writer of this period is Lucian, who laughed at human folly, wherever he found it, in temples, in schools, among the learned or the great. None of the ancients had the faculty, which he possessed, of discerning, in all things, the ridiculous and the incongruous, and of representing it, with such fascinating simplicity, that we are unwilling to read any thing that may be advanced by way of defence.

CHAPTER VI.

ALTERNATION OF CALAMITOUS TIMES WITH PERIODS OF GREATER TRANQUILLITY, FROM A. D. 180 TO 285.

As long as the soul of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher, ever equal to itself, and competent to provide for all contingencies, lived among mortals, without seeming to partake in their weaknesses or crimes, it was sufficient for the empire, and it was not remarked

how much depended upon it, alone. When Marcus Aurelius, as the nations believed, ascended to the gods, [A. D. 180,] and his son Commodus succeeded him on the throne, a universal relaxation was quickly experienced. Virtuous men were dreaded, because Commodus was wholly unlike them; he put to death Salvius Julianus, the greatest of the Roman lawyers, whom his father honored. He lived in the most abject depravity; his inclinations were those of a thoughtless youth, who seeks his glory in mock fights. Commodus had nothing to fear from the prætorians; he allowed them every license; they were his protection, against the rest of mankind; but, when he became the tyrant of his own household, his domestics put him to death. [A. D. 193.]

The Præfect of the city, Helvius Pertinax, was raised to the throne by the perpetrators of this act, who wished to justify themselves to the world. He was an upright man, and was murdered, in a short time, by the soldiery, who were afraid of the ancient virtue and discipline. When virtue could no longer maintain itself, by its own influence, the memory of that discovery which the army had made, after Nero's death, of their own power over the throne, revived. The prætorian guard delivered the sceptre of the world to him who could give the greatest price. The purchaser was Didius, a rich senator, nephew of the above-mentioned Salvius Julianus, a vain old man, who was persuaded to this act by his wife and by flatterers, and who obtained, by his folly, a speedy death.

[A. D. 194.] The legions, disdaining to receive a master from the prætorian guard, raised Pescennius Niger, in Asia, Clodius Albinus, in Britain, and Severus, in Pannonia, or Hungary, to the purple. Severus had skill enough to prevent his rivals from combining against him, and accordingly conquered them both, in turn. [A. D. 198.] He was an able warrior; he possessed science, experience, and an activity, which was not subdued by the tortures which he suffered from a dis-

temper in his feet. He was not a Trajan, but was a useful chief, in the evil times in which he lived, to mitigate and retard the progress of public ruin. He wanted courage or power to reduce the soldiery again to subordination, but sought to acquire their favor, and to retain the empire for his sons.

[A. D. 211.] One of the latter, Bassianus Caracalla, freed himself, by assassinations, from the joint rule of the gentle Geta, and from the troublesome reproaches of those, who would not justify fratricide. [A. D. 212.] He afterwards carried on war, on the Rhine and on the Euphrates; he was perpetually in action; in pleasures, in enterprises, in the imitation of Alexander the Great, he sought to forget himself. Caracalla was fierce and valiant; he inspired awe; the citizens trembled at his thirst of blood, and the enemy at his impetuosity. The army loved him, because he esteemed only the soldier.

[A. D. 217.] Macrinus, captain of the guard, whom he had treated ungraciously, murdered Caracalla. But Macrinus had none of those qualities which secure to an individual the command over nations. He was put to death, in the name of a youth, who was said to be the child of Caracalla; and his son, the amiable Diadumenianus, scarcely eighteen years of age, fell together with his father. [A. D. 218.]

Heliogabalus was the name of the youth who ascended the throne, and of whom nothing more characteristic can be said, than that, before his eighteenth year, he had exhausted all the resources of pleasure, and that, ignorant as he was of every other pursuit, the violent death which he suffered came not too early for him. [A. D. 222.] So little did he consult appearances, so devoid was he of good qualities, to atone for his faults, that the prætorian guard in him abhorred even their own vices.

His kinsman, the young Alexander Severus, by a spotless life, merited a sceptre, which he spared himself no exertion to wield without reproach. He was amiable, industrious, and loved the society of wise

men. Whatever laudable principle had been delivered to mankind or to princes, by the sages of all nations, from Orpheus to the founder of the Christian name, whom he revered as a great teacher of morality, was the object of his unremitting study. While he lived, as a man, without reproach, as a monarch, he fought courageously against the independent hordes of Germany, and against the house of the Sassanidæ, who had subverted the Parthian dynasty, in Persia, and renewed the antiquated claims to the sovereignty of Western Asia. But the most necessary of his good qualities was ruinous to him; he attempted to restore discipline in the army, and was consequently murdered, by his own soldiers, in the vicinity of Mentz. [A. D. 235.]

CHAPTER VII.

TUMULTUOUS PERIOD, FROM A. D. 235 TO 284.

MAXIMINUS, a Goth, of gigantic stature, famed for his bodily strength, his gluttony, and courage, a man of the roughest manners, who knew not how to govern himself nor to control any movement of passion; who hated Rome, the senate, and all forms of government and civilized society; was elected emperor, by the soldiers. He was unable to disguise his nature; and, in a short time, Gordian, a respectable senator, of noble family, great riches, and benevolent character, together with his son, a youth full of vigor and genius, were set up in opposition to him. [A. D. 236.] Scarcely had the senate ventured to acknowledge them, when the younger Gordian fell in battle, and his father shortened, by voluntary death, his childless old age. Maximinus approached Rome, and the extremity of danger inspired the senate with courage. They nominated Balbinus and Pupienus, the former to direct internal affairs, the other to defend the state. No battle, how-

ever, ensued, for the acts of cruelty which Maximinus, enraged against his opponent, allowed himself to perpetrate, provoked the army to murder him, together with his son ; yet the soldiers could not prevail so far over themselves, as to acknowledge the emperors whom the senate had named. [A. D. 238.] New wars were to be dreaded, when the third Gordian, a hopeful youth, united all parties. The young Emperor had a heart formed for virtue ; he was fighting courageously against the Persians, when Philip, an Arab, the traitorous captain of his guard, put him to death, in the midst of a seditious tumult, excited by himself. [A. D. 244.] Gratitude erected a monument to the meritorious labors of his blooming youth ; and, in the one thousandth year from the building of Rome, an Arab seated himself upon the throne of the Cæsars. [A. D. 247.]

Philip was soon punished for the crime committed against the excellent Gordian ; and his successor, Decius, gave no small promise of being to the Romans a second Trajan. [A. D. 249.] But an attempt to bring back the manners of old times did not succeed ; he was unable to change the temper of his age. Decius, a prince full of honesty, a man of great mind, fell, after fighting victoriously, in the war of his country against the invading Goths. [A. D. 251.]

Little else can be said of Gallus, Volusianus, Hostilianus, and Æmilianus, but that, in two years, they found their way to the throne, and to a speedy death.

[A. D. 253.] Valerianus would have left behind him a better memory, if he had never been made emperor. As a censor, he was considered a man of virtuous conduct and good parts ; but, when he became ruler, it was manifest that a grave deportment had concealed incapacity, and even sluggishness. He was defeated by Shapur, king of Persia, and bore the contumelies which the barbarian inflicted upon him, not knowing, though an emperor, how to imitate the example of Cato. [A. D. 259.]

His son, Gallienus, enjoyed the dominion, which, if

it had not fallen to him, he never would have sought, and which the effeminate voluptuary only valued, for the sake of enjoyment. There arose, in Britain, Spain, Gaul, Rhætia, Illyricum, Asia, Africa, and even in Italy, a number of usurping chiefs, some of whom were persons of merit, others, mere warriors. The hordes that were penetrating into Asia, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, required every where the presence of an emperor. Gallienus, content, as long as Italy, which was enough for him, remained undisturbed, intrusted the empire to its fate, till Aureolus, in Milan, roused him, by fear, out of his voluptuous repose. Before he could take that city, he was assassinated, and his love songs, alone, survived him. [A. D. 268.] At the point of death, he recommended the most worthy citizen as his successor.

This was Claudius, who delivered Italy from the Goths, in a battle, that may be compared with that of Marius.

[A. D. 270.] After his death, which soon ensued, Aurelianus, a man educated in military life, obtained the throne, which stood in need of his vigor and activity. Huts and encampments were the latest, as they had been the earliest, asylums of merit. The senators were unhappily exempted from military service. Aurelianus reduced all things to order and tranquillity; he repelled the barbarians, and penetrated into the forests of Germany. After he had conquered all the usurping chiefs, the good fortune which the Palmyrene Zenobia deserved to have secured unchangeably, yielded to Aurelianus. He performed three things, which a conqueror alone could have dared to attempt: he was the first monarch who abandoned a province of the empire; for he gave up Dacia, on the northern side of the Danube, preferring, as it would seem, the natural boundaries. Secondly, he surrounded Rome with a wall, for he reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune, in war, and held it not to be superfluous to provide for the security of the seat of empire; what the Dictator Julius had not dared, what, in Caligula, had offended every one, as an

open mark that the shade of the republic, yet hovering over Rome, was about to vanish for ever, Aurelian performed ; he surrounded his head with the regal diadem. But he never lost a battle ; he treated the conquered with clemency ; and he deserved the favor of the people and army. He hated the senate, and was the object of their fear.

As a fire, which expires for want of nourishment, throws out a little flame, before it is finally extinguished, so it happened, that, after the murder of Aurelian, an emperor was once more chosen by the senate, with the consent of the army. [A. D. 275.] Tacitus, an old senator of the house of the historian, reigned meritoriously, for a few months.

[A. D. 276.] After his death,—his brother Florianus, unlike him in character, possessing neither the respect of the army nor the voice of the senate,—the soldiers raised to the throne, Probus, a skilful general, who again complimented the senate, by asking their approval. He delivered Gaul and Pannonia from the barbarians. With the virtues of Aurelian, Probus combined modesty and gentleness. This excellent Chief seems to have been too much attached to regular discipline, to please the soldiery, for he was murdered, and speedily lamented. [A. D. 282.]

It appears that his successor, Carus, neglected to show respect to the senate ; he was a good general, and only too indulgent a father. His son, Carinus, to whom he confided the government of the West, conducted himself, in every respect, as he was prompted by the love of pleasure, in which he exceeded all bounds. Numerian, his elder son, had a better and more cultivated mind, yet their career was very short. The father fell, struck by lightning, (if this account was not feigned, in order to conceal assassination.) Numerian fell a sacrifice to an ambitious youth, who, by a speedy death, paid the forfeit of his crime. [A. D. 284.] Carinus was killed by the husband of a woman whom he had debauched.

The succeeding emperor, Diocletian, changed the form of government. Henceforward, its genius, the character of its magistrates, the seat of empire, the religion of the state, became different. As we are now arrived at the transition of the ancient world into the middle ages, an account of the condition of the former will here find an appropriate place.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK VIII.

SURVEY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, BEFORE
THE INVASION

OF THE

BARBARIANS AND THE INNOVATIONS IN ITS
INTERNAL CONSTITUTION.

I.

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BOOK VIII.

SURVEY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, BEFORE THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS AND THE INNOVATIONS IN ITS IN- TERNAL CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF AFRICA.

ON the boundaries of the Roman empire, towards the interior of Africa, several nomadic tribes roamed through the wilderness, and maintained their independence. The warriors of the commonwealth had held the task of extirpating or of reducing them to settled habitations, and of preserving a dominion over them, to be unworthy of the arms of Rome. The Blemmyes, of whose existence the world had hitherto scarcely any correct knowledge, now became dangerous neighbors to Egypt; and, in order to keep them at a distance, it was found expedient to yield possession of the desert to a Nubian horde. The latter, accordingly, entered into a league with the Romans. These nomadic tribes seem to have risen to numbers and power, in consequence of the fall of several old Carthaginian towns.

Caius Caligula had reduced both the Mauritanias to the condition of provinces, after destroying Ptolemy, whose father, Juba, the chieftain of the country, was a celebrated author. Suetonius Paulinus passed over the mountains of Atlas, but the barbarians in that country which we call Morocco, were never conquered. The fruitful fields of Mauritania and Numidia afforded such exuberant harvests of corn, that they eclipsed the fame of Sicily. In some situations, the ground multiplied the seed two hundred and forty times.

The Romans, who had never been a commercial people, had none of that narrow policy which sought to monopolize, in one town, the united products of a whole region. A number of flourishing cities decorated the coasts of Africa. Saleh, Bugie, Melille, and Tangier, refer their origin to this remote era.

Carthage, restored by Augustus, was an extensive and regularly-built city; it became opulent, was the abode of pleasure, and the central point of commercial intercourse. Here, the Africans were entertained, as the Europeans were at Rome, with public games.

Mauritania contained more numerous towns; but those of Numidia were the most extensive and populous. The slave-trade was even then in activity, and the cities displayed the effects of industry. This country was capable of becoming formidable, for its produce was exuberant, and its inhabitants, like other natives of hot climates, were content with a sparing sustenance; but no common chief, no principle of confederation, united the divided power of the Africans; the manners of the Romans obtained prevalence on the coast, and the rude simplicity of barbarians gave way, as usual, to the allurements of cultivation.

The path of commercial intercourse descended from Catabathmos into Egypt, a country equally rich in the necessities of life, and in its most refined luxuries, and which furnished to Rome as great a revenue as all Gaul. Oil was the only product that was wanting to it, and this was afforded by the neighboring provinces of Africa. Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, and one of the chief cities of the empire, was the depository of an extensive commerce. The countless multitudes who dwelt within its walls (for the sanguinary resentment of Caracalla had but a shortlived effect) were often excited to turbulent commotions; but their desultory movements were little to be feared, for the Alexandrians were the slaves of effeminate luxury.

Of the mysterious sciences of ancient Egypt, the arts of the juggler, and the wonders of the magical impostor,

alone, survived, by means of which, crafty performers accumulated wealth, at the public cost. Magical arts, since the time of Nero, had become a favorite employment, and often allured the debauched inhabitants of Rome to seek intercourse with higher and invisible beings. We perceive, in the works of Pliny, how zealously Nero labored in such pursuits; and Jamblichus displays to our view the magnificent machinery of the magicians of those days. The inclination, which prevails among the Oriental people, for a tranquil and contemplative life, had multiplied, at an early period, the abodes of eremites in the Egyptian deserts, and cloisters arose, before there were Christians to inhabit them. These became the first schools of the mystical philosophy, which was, in reality, only a refined system of magic.

CHAPTER II.

SYRIA.

SYRIA was very populous, opulent, and full of great cities. Gaza, at the entrance of Egypt, and its havens, Majuma and Ascalon, were greatly celebrated. Ælia, on the site of the old Jerusalem, the approach of which was forbidden to the Jews, rose again, by degrees, to a respectable extent, and the memory of its gardens of balsam supported the fame of Jericho. The trade in Tyrian purple was carried on, in a flourishing manner, from the port of Lydda. All the arts, which depended on acuteness and dexterity, flourished in Syria; the theatrical actors, the performers for the orchestra, and the ropedancers of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Tyre, Berytus, and Heliopolis, excelled all others, in the world; in many of the cities, there were excellent manufactories of linen; Ascalon and Gaza enjoyed a profitable export of wine, and the most beautiful damsels of the East were seen in the temple of Venus, at Heliopolis.

The sciences also were cultivated, and at Berytus there was a much-frequented school of jurisprudence. The pomp and opulence of Tyre and Sidon still recalled their former celebrity, and Antioch was advancing to be one of the most splendid cities in the world; Laodicea, the nursery of excellent horsemen, rivalled the fame of Antioch; and, next to it, Assamea and Edessa held the most distinguished place.

In the midst of a valley, open to the southward, at the distance of a day's journey from the Euphrates, and among groves of palm trees, watered by limpid streams, Solomon, the King of Judah, had built Tadmor, in the wilderness: it was called by the Greeks Palmyra, and became, by its situation, almost independent, though its principal citizens acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Odenathus, and his consort, Zenobia, made Palmyra the capital of a kingdom: they reigned over Syria and Mesopotamia, and rendered themselves formidable to the Persian Monarch, while Firmus, their ally, had acquired possession of Egypt. The sciences and the fine arts made Palmyra their favorite abode. The Emperor Aurelian conquered the Princess Zenobia, but displayed his clemency towards the people of Palmyra. The latter, unaccustomed to submission, made a premature attempt against the weak garrison, which he had perhaps left among them as a test of their fidelity; and the consequences of this revolt involved the ruin of their magnificent town. Its huge walls yet stand in ruins, and the situation of the place still renders it important.

Already the Saracens, or inhabitants of the Arabian desert, fought among the allies, or as adversaries of the legions. Mesopotamia was enriched by the caravans of Indian and Arabian commerce, which traversed the wilderness from the bottom of the Persian gulf. Brass and iron were the only articles of which the exportation was forbidden. Towards the borders of Persia, Nisibis was the most important of the frontier towns.

CHAPTER III.

ASIA MINOR.

ALREADY, in the age of Augustus, many ancient cities of the Lesser Asia had been destroyed, by wars and other calamities. In Cilicia, the citizens of Tarsus were celebrated for their genius; the countrymen of the Apostle Paul were devoted to metaphysics; they were distinguished in the dialectic art, and for the rhapsodies of *improvisatori*; and there were many who wandered through the empire and established schools. In the neighboring Pompeiopolis, the descendants of the confederate pirates now dwelt as peaceable inhabitants. The fruitful Pamphylia sent the produce of its fields down the river Melas. The valiant Isauri maintained, in the mountains, their barbarous freedom, and sometimes descended to ravage the vineyards of Cilicia, and the olive gardens of Pamphylia. Lycia was a nursery of good seamen; Cyprus and Rhodes, from the days of their ancient prosperity, still retained their excellent soil, of which no tyrant had been able to rob them, and their voluptuous pleasures, the indulgence in which rendered them insensible to all higher enjoyments. Cnidus and Halicarnassus still displayed, in their splendid ruins, what they had once been.

The cities of Ionia and Æolia were distinguished by the works of ancient art, and by their great population, and they were enriched by the commerce of the inland country; nothing was wanting to their glory, but the strength and valor that were needful, in order to resist the incursions of those barbarians, who, in the third century, destroyed the renowned temple of Diana, and sacked many towns, which never more raised themselves from their ashes. Nicæa was an extensive city, regularly and beautifully built; noble relics yet existed of the ancient splendor of Cyzicus; and Nicomedia, the

residence of Diocletian, had risen to the rank of the most celebrated cities. Scio received the produce of all Phrygia. Alexandria Troas, founded by Lysimachus, a descendant of the hero of Macedon, not far from the site of ancient Troy, flourished in great opulence, in the midst of fertile plains and in the vicinity of the woody Ida. Its situation, on the shore of the Hellespont, rendered it, in every respect, a rival of Byzantium; for those, who travelled from the East, were, by this passage, spared the storms of the Bosphorus; and the neighboring sea was adorned with islands, which were fitted to contain the gardens of a seraglio. Sardis, Ancyra, Cæsarea, Sinope, Amisus, were great and opulent capitals of flourishing provinces. The region of Phrygia, arid, as its name imports, produced no green tree, but was fertile in vineyards. Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, were famed for excellent soldiers; Galatia furnished warriors and bread-corn, and Cappadocia, horses: both of them produced raiment, while Armenia was famed for bowmen. The greatness and magnificence of so many towns, so thickly sown, afford a splendid idea of the power and opulence, which the Lesser Asia is capable of attaining.

The passage of the Euxine required ships built for the purpose, and an accurate knowledge of the many shallows and hidden rocks: this sea was always tempestuous, often covered with fogs, and furnished with few secure anchorages. Already, it was difficult to land at the inhospitable Salmydessus, so extensively had the Danube filled its seven mouths with sand; already, it was impossible for a large ship to run into Sinope; and, as Polybius had foretold, the navigation of the whole of this sea became every day more arduous. The Tauric peninsula opened the safest havens; and, in the dock-yards of Panticapæum, the vessels best fitted for voyages on the Euxine were constructed of timber which floated down the Don and Dnieper. At Cimmeris, the Palus Mæotis afforded a serviceable harbor. Commerce was carried on with the productions

of Scythia ; and the merchants sailed far up the Dnieper, whose banks, as well as those of the Tyras, the Hypanis, and the Danube, were subject to frequent inundations, and covered with rich meadows or luxuriant woods.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN COUNTRIES.

SUCH were the provinces of the empire, towards the south and east. The people who occupied these regions had become little changed, in consequence of the Roman sway ; while the Romans who dwelt among them, by the powerful influence of the soil and climate, were assimilated in character to the native inhabitants. The human figure possessed, in these countries, an extraordinary degree of beauty, with a peculiar dignity and eloquent expression of countenance, and with a vivacity of feeling, which was not so much displayed in gestures, as in energy of action and in constancy and perseverance in exertions. Nature, here, developes the growth of the body to its fulness of vigor and beauty, and, even in the brute creation, exhibits greater powers of life than in other climates.

In Africa, man, like the lion which wanders through the same burning desert, as if hardened by the solar beams, possesses an uncommon degree of activity and muscular strength. The sublime beauty and the elevated sentiment of the Oriental people were here more rarely to be found ; yet the nomadic tribes approximated to this character ; and, on the other hand, the commercial spirit and political circumstances of the cities on the coasts, seem to have imparted to the people, who dwelt in them, that effeminate depravity and dissimulation, for which they were remarked.

The Persians were the most formidable enemies of

the eastern provinces. Artasher, called, by the Greeks, Artaxerxes, sprung, as he pretended, from the house of the old Caianian monarchs; and a son of one of those princes who, under the dominion of the Parthians, had always maintained in Farsistan the name of a Persian kingdom, possessed courage and talents which enabled him to overthrow the government of the Parthians, and to restore the empire to the native people. He also reestablished the ancient faith of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, which, like that of the Indians, Chinese, and Hebrews, exhibits a figurative representation of the origin of things, of the most ancient revolutions of the world, and of the human race; and, in addition to this, sets forth the general principles of morality with a particular reference to Persia: it ordains the veneration of light, as the only imaginable emblem of God, and as the instrument of the life of Nature: and, in the contest of good and evil, discovers the secret of happiness in the victory over our senses; it confides to the priesthood the guidance of the actions and opinions of the multitude, and speaks in such terms of the end of all forms of sensual being, as may teach men to raise their thoughts above the visible creation to the celestial throne of Ormuzhd.

Artaxerxes and his son Sapor carried on vigorous wars against the Roman empire in Western Asia. The last stem of the Parthian dynasty held out, for some centuries, in Armenia, under the protection of Rome. Often, from these mountains, the plains of Assyria and Babylonia were overrun, and, as often, Syria felt the oppressive arms of the Persians; but Galerius, who had been declared Cæsar by Diocletian, obliged King Narses to conclude a peace, which lasted forty years, and secured to the Romans the possession of Osrhoëne and of Nisibis.

In general, the Persians had it in their power to inflict evils on Western Asia, but it was not so easy for them to establish their dominion over it. Extensive wastes and mountainous tracts formed a bulwark around

it, and deserts of smaller extent, but destitute of water, divided the provinces of their own kingdom. To retain the latter in subjection, required the greater vigilance, as the nature of the country favored the revolts of the provincial governors, who immediately received protection from the Romans. Towards the sea, Persia had nothing to fear. Along the whole coast, which was inhabited by wandering tribes of barbarians, there is not one secure haven, from the gulf of Ormuz to the confines of India; above this, a district of pasture land is succeeded by plains bearing abundant harvests of corn: another tract of mountainous country lies beyond, the passes through which are easily defended. The Persian King commonly maintained treaties of alliance with the Indian princes of the Punjab, which was the warlike country of the ancient Porus.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE.

FROM the Black Sea to the Adriatic, a chain of mountains extends, under various names, the most considerable part of which has the appellation of Mount Hæmus. In its extreme branches, it almost touches the Alps, which, by the chain of the Cevennes, approach the eastern confines of the Pyrenees. Southern Europe, including the countries which lie to the southward of this great ridge, namely, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Illyricum, Italy, and Spain, constituted the chief extent of the Roman empire. The northern division of it comprised Gaul, bounded by the Rhine, some districts of Germany, Rhoëtia, Noricum, Pannonia, the hither Dacia, and Britain, cut off from the world. On the former of these regions, indulgent Nature had bestowed her finest gifts; the second, especially the last-named provinces, were the bulwark of the empire;

and the strength of the legions consisted chiefly in the levies which were drawn from them.

Thrace was thickly peopled by warlike tribes, but not so well cultivated; agriculture has since increased in this country, facilitated, as it appears, by the destruction of a part of the northern forests. At the same time, Heraclea Parinthus became the chief town of Thrace; for, after the severe vengeance which Severus inflicted on the people of Byzantium, for their heroic fidelity to Pescennius Niger, this city had risen but slowly to opulence. In some districts, the Getæ lived among the Thracians, a valiant people, elevated to heroism by the belief in an immortal life; who, if they originally belonged to the race of the Goths, seem to have had no longer any connexion with that people.*

The Macedonians continued to be excellent soldiers, and they still used the long spears of their ancestors: iron and lead were dug from their mines, and their mountains were covered with numerous flocks; the greatness of Thessalonica raised it above all the other cities of Macedonia, and it acknowledged few rivals in the world. From several other ports, there was an exportation of cheese and salted flesh, which the Dardans and other pastoral people brought down from their mountains.

During the same ages, Athens was the chief seat of science and philosophy. She had derived new embellishments from the rich and learned Herodes Atticus, and the prodigious work of Pericles, the temple of Minerva, was completed by the order of Adrian. In the middle of the third century, this city was plundered by the

* The Getæ were certainly of the same race with the Thracian tribes. This appears from numerous passages in the Greek writers, but especially from the assertion of Herodotus. Menander mentions the Getæ, as a Thracian people.

All the Greek and Roman writers considered the Goths and Getæ as the same people; but some modern geographers, particularly D'Anville and Cluver, have maintained, that the Goths were of Scandinavian origin.—*T.*

Goths, yet the masterpieces of ancient architecture remained, which it required too great labor to destroy. The statues and pictures of the best masters had been conveyed, by Nero, to Italy. The culture of the sciences, and a predilection for the religion of Homer, were retained by the Athenians, as late as the sixth century.

Under the government of the Romans, Thebes, Athens, Megara, and a part of Ætolia, were included under the name of the Achæan republic; but of many cities, only ruins now existed. Except Sicily, Greece had suffered greater losses than any other country, since the extension of the Roman power.

Dalmatia rose from a state of barbarism, and was enriched by an extensive traffic in cattle, timber, and iron; considerable towns flourished on the coast; and the palace and gardens of Diocletian, in the vicinity of the present Spalatro, soon rendered Salona one of the most beautiful places in the world. Its ruins still attest its ancient magnificence, and prove, that the principles of taste were not yet lost, in the general anarchy.

To celebrate the praise of Italy, after Virgil and Pliny, would be a vain attempt. Nature seemed to have destined this country to become the seat of universal empire. Its coasts, which open an easy communication with all parts of the world, give it great advantages for upholding its dominion, while the sea and the Alps are the bulwark of its security. The enterprises of policy and of commerce were facilitated by the havens of Ostia, Ravenna, and Misenum. A grateful variety in the climate and temperature, the consequence of diversity in local situation, favored the production and growth of all the plants and animals, which contribute to the support and pleasure of life; the long ridge of the Apennine gave, to every district, the advantages both of hilly and level countries, and the rivers facilitated exportation, which was shortened, by the narrow form of the land. Situated nearly in the midst of the civilized world, Italy was enabled to watch over

all the nations who inhabited it, and to anticipate the dangers which arose from sudden movements. Several towns contended for the honor of the imperial residence. Palaces, worthy of the monarch, existed at Milan and Ravenna, as well as at Rome; and Aquileia, by its opulence, attracted the barbarians, and, by its strength, served as a bulwark against their inroads. In the course of a long peace, the Ligurians had descended from their wild mountains, and had cultivated the coasts, which extend toward the west and east, from the city of Genoa. The emperors rivalled each other, in ennobling Ancona, Ariminum, and other towns on the shores of the Adriatic. On the lower coast of Italy, Campania, since Vesuvius had become a burning mountain, seemed to be more fertile than before; the exuberant soil of Capua, Nola, and Naples, afforded some consolation, for the loss of the cities that lay buried, under ashes and lava; and the islands were ornamented with palaces and pleasure-houses. In Sicily, excellent wines, iron, wool, and cattle, were the chief articles of exportation. The beauty of the animals, which that island produced, caused the games at Syracuse and Catania to become equally celebrated, with those of Rome. Since Egypt and Africa supplied enough corn, and of better quality, the fields of Sicily had been converted into pasturage, the produce of which must have been more certain, more diversified, and, in the neighborhood of Rome, more profitable. Corsica was celebrated for honey and oysters. Sardinia contained flourishing towns, though the interior of the country was not civilized.

Spain furnished the empire with brave warriors, and with brass, iron, gold, silver, and horses; in the less fertile parts of the country, flax and spartum* were cultivated. Many profound philosophers and poets, of bold and lofty genius, were natives of Spain: the mechanical arts flourished, without degrading the high

* A kind of broom, used for making cables, &c.

spirit of the nation. After the fall of Carthage, the commerce of Cadiz declined ; and the ancient rites of the temple of Hercules were now the chief glory of the place ; the navigation of the ocean was seldom attempted. On the eastern coast, and towards the mountains, Barcino, or Barcelona, and Cæsar Augusta, now Zaragoza, arose to opulence ; and, notwithstanding its many calamities, Tarraco, formerly the capital of a large province, contended with these cities for preeminence.

All these countries surrounded the Mediterranean Sea, the navigation of which was best known ; for it was seldom that men ventured far into the immeasurable ocean. From Aradus to the Baleares, a multitude of very populous islands were subject to the imperial sway ; among which, were Cyprus, with its nine kingdoms, and Rhodes, formerly great in naval power, which, together with Eubœa, was the key to the Grecian sea and continent ; the Cyclades, the seat of the power of Minos, over which, Athens had erected her sovereignty ; Sicily, the object of strife between tyrants and powerful nations ; the Liburnian isles, multitudinous, and celebrated for able seamen ; and the Baleares, the slingers of which had fought in the Carthaginian armies against the legions. In the ocean, Britain belonged to Rome. The Orcades were visited ; the extreme Thule was known to fame ; and projects were formed for acquiring possession of Ireland, then governed by the Scots,—an island necessary for those who would maintain their dominion over Britain. The climate and soil of Ireland were supposed to be excellent ; but the inhabitants were represented as the most inhuman barbarians in the world : for Ossian was not intelligible to Roman ears. Few ventured further, and sailed to Thule, (or Iceland?) for the appearances of Nature were here frightful ; a dread of the secret places of the gods arrested the progress of the trembling navigator ; he beheld, with amazement, such gulfs as the Maelstrom, into which, it was believed, that the ocean sunk

at the ebbing of the tide, in order to rush forth, at the succeeding flood ; or, perhaps, as the earth was supposed to be an immense animal, when the monster again breathed ! Yet those, who searched into the nature of things, sought, even at that time, the obscure cause of the ebbing and flowing of the tide, in the influence of the moon. Britain, for the rest, was chiefly pasture land. There was a pearl-fishery on the coast ; London was the centre of the little commerce that existed, and York afforded no mean residence to many emperors, who had occasion to halt on this frontier. Civilized manners caused the barbarous freedom of the Britons to sink into oblivion ; Agricola had pronounced this to be the only means of subduing them. Even at that era, fleets cruised in the channel, or were stationed off the Isle of Wight ; and, more than once, the fate of Britain depended on prosperous or adverse gales.

The greater part of Gaul was well cultivated ; yet, enough woods remained, to supply timber for building houses and for ships. The southern provinces enjoyed the most fertile soil, and the most pleasant climate. The atrocious sacrifices of the Druids, who held that shedding the blood of men was the only means of reconciling the gods to the human race, had long been abolished ; but the order of their priesthood still survived. For the rest, the arts of peace too much predominated : Marseilles and Autun had excellent schools of learning, and the Gauls, as Mela mentions, possessed their own style of eloquence. Narbonne was the chief city of the southern provinces : how flourishing would it have become, if the nature of the tempestuous sea had allowed a few more secure havens on the coast ! Further in the interior, was Lugdunum, or Lyons, where all the military roads of Gaul joined, and where the whole country celebrated a solemn festival, at the temple of Augustus. All the borders of the Rhine were included in Belgic Gaul, until Helvetia and Sequania were divided from it, under the name of the great province of the Saone, and the country, now called Alsace,

extending towards Mentz, was comprehended in the district of Germania Prima. The northern part of Belgic Gaul seems to have suffered, more severely than the other provinces, because its people, on account of the love of freedom which animated them, were more dangerous to Rome. There were wooden cities, scarcely worthy of that name, situated in the midst of marshes, such as Paris and Tongres, which were never visited for the sake of their attractions; but Treves was a rich and splendid town. At the era of the first movements among the Northern nations, the chief departments of Gaul were the province of Narbonne, containing two subdivisions; Aquitania, with an equal number; the Lyonese, with four; and Gallia Belgica, with two.

The modern Switzerland, with its dependencies, belonged to the greater province of the Saone, to the first Germany, and to the Lyonese departments, which derived their names from Vienne, and from the Pennine, and the Graiæ, or Hoary Alps. Four chief towns,—Aventicum, or Avenche, Noviodunum, or Nion, Augusta, of the Rauraci, now Aouste near Basil, and Besontio, or Besançon,—were their ornaments and defence; the old Aventicum was a beautiful and extensive city, and the seat of luxury, of every kind; the other towns served as bulwarks against the incursions of barbarians. Vindonissa, or Windisch, Rauricum, where Basil is now situated, Ebrodunum, or Iverdun, and Argentuaria, may be mentioned as great military stations. But Windisch, by being the seat of a strong garrison, was converted into a flourishing city; Iverdun was the residence of a particular governor, the prefect of the mariners;* and the duke, or commander of the Greater Saone, had his seat at Olino, now Holée, a town near Basil. The neighboring territory, which was that of the Rauraci, belonged to the Germania Prima. Valais was comprised in the Pennine Alps, until Rhætia, divided from Illyricum, was placed, together with the republic of the

* Præfectus barcariorum.

Valais, under the government of a duke or procurator, and made a particular frontier province of Italy. Geneva belonged to the province of Vienne. Already the banks of the Leman lake began to be known under the name of Sabaudia, or Savoy.

Near the *lacus Venetus*, or lake of Constance, Gaul bordered on Illyricum, so long as Rhætia was reckoned a part of the latter country. But the Rhætian people extended from the Danube to Verona, and from the sources of the Rhine to the district of the Carni.* Veldivena, or Wilten, in the Tyrol, was their capital town, but Como and Bregenz rose to an equal degree of eminence. On the river Lech, Rhætia joined Vindelicia, which is now Vendenland upon the Lech, and the latter bordered upon Noricum. The barbarous† Noricum had learnt obedience: it was a land of pasturage, and its iron mines have been worked, from remote times; but the local situation of this country gave it a particular importance; the warlike people of the Gabretawald, the enterprising subjects of Maroboduus,‡ the Quadi, Gepidi, and the Carpi in the Carpathian mountains, always required cautious observation. From the place where Vindobona formed the petty beginning of Vienna, the noble country of Pannonia drew its boundary through a part of Austria and Hungary, to Illyricum, whose capital, Sirmium, was often an imperial residence. The whole province of Illyricum, which, after the separation of Rhætia, extended from Karst, over Dalmatia, to the borders of Mœsia, was not only a desirable possession, on account of its productions, but was important, as containing a valiant people, from whom sprung the latest of the Roman heroes, Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, who saved the empire from the Goths. Mœsia and the hither Dacia, now Bulgaria and Valachia, were beautiful districts, and had become more populous, since the well-affected inhabitants of

* Namely, Carniola and Carinthia.

† Upper Bavaria and a part of Lower and Inner Austria.

‡ The Macri.

Transylvania had left that country and the falling palaces of Sarmizegethusen, and had crossed the Danube, when the Romans abandoned its northern shore.

A more noble dominion never existed, than that of Rome. Situated in the midst of the most temperate regions of the earth, under the mildest sky, comprising the most fertile countries, and the most enterprising and civilized nations, how great and splendid was the dominion of Rome, in the days of Trajan! It was a sad day for the human race, when this mighty empire fell:—let us rather say, when it was erected, and when the welfare of so many nations was committed to a single man.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BARBAROUS COUNTRIES IN THE NORTH.

THE primitive manners of the human race were preserved, nearest to their original simplicity, in the forests of the Germans and Slavonians,—nations who were destined, in the course of a few centuries, to impress a new character on half the world. In the countries which they conquered, they adopted, in part, the customs of the people whom they subdued; and, on this mixture, were founded the manners and governments of our forefathers. The system of legislation was better regulated among the Romans; but our ancestors were free, and accustomed to victory; and, among them, good morals held the place of laws. We have derived from them the best of our institutions; the worst have been copied from the example of degenerate Rome. As the tribes, who migrated from Germany, did not lay aside their former manners, in the same degree, or at one time, so it has happened, that some of them, as the Swiss and the English, have retained longer, in their political constitutions, the germ of original freedom, while others, from the same inher-

itance, have remained eminent in military virtues, and have never been entirely subdued by foreign nations.

Liberty, and all the qualities which are connected with it, may have their existence in every region. Thus, the Greeks and Romans were as valiant and independent as the Teutonic people; but it must be allowed, at the same time, that the concurring influence of moral causes was necessary, in order to develope the principles of freedom in the former nations, and the cessation of these causes has robbed them of their ancient glory. The Northern tribes only followed the impulse of their native genius, and have therefore the more easily brought down, to our later times, striking and important remains of the manners and customs of their forefathers. Climate is not the sole foundation of such moral phenomena, though it is one of the fundamental causes. When we consider that restless spirit which distinguished the men of the North, we are tempted to wonder, that so much remains of their ancient customs; but their restless temper seems chiefly to have referred to corporeal activity; they often changed their country, but seldom their habits and ideas. On the other hand, when they had once surrendered these, they fell into a state of perpetual vicissitude, since no foreign customs were found to be so congenial to their nature, as those which they had abandoned.

In some chapters of his history of the Gallic war, Cæsar has sketched the earliest picture of ancient Germany; it is short, and rich in information, according to the usual manner of the author, which renders him the most simple and instructive of all historians. Next to him, Strabo must be mentioned, whose great work is the fruit of much enlightened reading, and of extensive personal observation; but the description of the North is very much corrupted, in the manuscripts of his geography, and it never formed one of the best portions of his work. Mela, in his learned outline of the globe, has adopted some notices concerning the German people, which are set forth with his peculiar brev-

ity. The elder Pliny has comprised, in four books, his description of the earth ; in these, the profound learning and accurate information, which we admire in his writings, are conspicuous ; his remarks on the Northern nations are so much the more valuable, as he had composed a particular work on the wars of the Germans. That work is lost ; but Tacitus, who was the friend of the author's family, had probably availed himself of its contents. The incomparable disquisition, which Tacitus has left us, on the Germans, has been regarded, by some, as a political romance, intended by the author to excite the shame of his countrymen, by the reflections it casts on the corruption of their domestic manners ; but the customs, which are still to be found among the Alpine mountains, and which are brought to light in the ancient chronicles, as well as those which have been discovered among the wild hordes of North America, established the veracity of the historian ; while, from the last-mentioned source, we obtain a knowledge of whatever is connected with that particular stage of society, in which the German people stood. Tacitus gives the Romans some keen rebukes, as also does Pliny, who always undervalues men, in order to elevate Nature, alone ; and often, as if inspired, interrupts the course of his extracts, to raise his voice, suddenly, like that of a thundering orator, and to display, by a few striking outlines, what man is capable of becoming, and how he neglects the dignity of his nature. The work of Tacitus is short : he abridged every thing, says Montesquieu, because his eye penetrated all things. Montesquieu has profited by his assistance, in distinguishing the traces and influence of the Teutonic manners on all the modern governments. It was impossible to enter first on such a field, without sometimes going astray ; but he has opened untrodden paths, on which those may easily advance further, who would scarcely have discovered them, for themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT GERMANY.

GERMANY formed a part of the country of the Celtæ, which originally comprised the whole west of Europe, as far as the straits of Gibraltar; but, by degrees, as nations were more discriminated, came to comprehend only Gaul; and, at length, only that part of Gaul, which is included between the Garonne and the Marne. The limits of Germany extended from the sources of the Danube to the utmost North, embracing the isles of Scandinavia, and from the Rhine to the forests and plains of Sarmatia and the Carpathian mountains. According to some geographers, it comprised the whole country westward of the Don.

The nature of the country gave rise to great diversity in the character of particular tribes. The districts on the Rhine were the best cultivated; traces of growing refinement here displayed themselves; Strasburg, Speier, Worms, but particularly Mentz and Cologne, (for the left bank of the Rhine formed a part of Germany before the time of Cæsar,) were already flourishing, in commerce and manufactures. Further in the interior, the Hercynian forest, which was estimated at the extent of a sixty days' journey, and of which the forest of the Rhine, and the Black Forest, the Odenwald, Westerwald, Spessart, the forests of Bohemia, Thuringia, the Hartz, and many others, are the remains, took its rise from the glaciers of Adula, in whose bosom are the fountains of the Rhine, and terminated at Rugen, in order to reappear on the further shore of the Baltic, and occupy the whole of Finland. The northern coast consisted of marshes, subject to frequent inundations, where the Natives fixed their dwellings upon spots which afforded the appearance of security. The country in general, especially between the seacoast

and the Hercynian forest, consisted of immense heaths, which were capable, here and there, of cultivation, but were, for the most part, only fit for pasturage and for the chase. Beyond the sea, Sweden and Norway were chiefly forests and morasses, from which we must only except the southern provinces of the former country.

Among the German tribes, the most distinguished were the Suevi, or Suabians, who were afterwards lost in the name of Allemanni, the Saxons, the Boii, Bajori, or Bavarians, and the Franks, who were not a distinct race, but a military federation. The general appellation of the German people yet exists; Tuist, or God, was the father of Mannus, or mankind, and the Teutonic people, from the creative hand of God, had lived ever a pure and unadulterated race.

The Suevi were a migratory people, of simple manners, as nomadic nations always are; they were valiant, because they had nothing to lose, except that life which they were destined to recover in the everlasting halls of Woden. The Allemanni were Gauls, who disdained to acknowledge a conquered land for their country. About the time when the Marcomanni passed beyond the Bohemian forests, they established themselves in Upper Germany, where they fed their flocks on fertile and extensive plains, and gave to the Romans, as the price of peace, a tribute of the tenth part of their produce. Those who would not consent to these terms continued their march to the banks of the Mayne. The similarity of manners rendered their union with the Suevi so complete, that the whole nation was henceforth called, indifferently, sometimes by the name of Suevi, at others, by that of Allemanni.

The confederacy of the Franks offers itself to our notice, at a somewhat later period. This alliance was formed for the defence of liberty, in the remote hamlets of Westphalia and Lower Hessa, between the Dymel and the fields of the Bavarians.

We find the Saxons on the northern coast, as far as the peninsula of Jutland. They devoted themselves to

a seafaring life, and, according to the ancient custom, to piracy. Afterwards, they went up the Weser and the Elbe, and planted themselves in abodes which had been deserted, by the former possessors, for adventurous schemes of conquest.

The Bajoari, an ancient tribe, who had been formidable enemies to the Roman republic, in Italy, had their chief settlement in Bohemia, until they were driven, by Slavonian invaders, to Noricum and Rhætia.

The northeastern region, from the Thuringian forest to the Oder and Vistula, and to the Baltic sea, was chiefly inhabited by roving hordes, who, as far as we can trace their origin, were of Slavonian race. Further to the eastward, dwelt tribes of Finns, whom the obscurity of their forests sheltered from the Roman yoke, as it conceals them from our investigation.

The political institutions of these nations were, for the most part, arranged on the following principles: All authority originated in the assembly of all the freemen, who elected to offices, and held all men under responsibility for their conduct. They were accustomed to meet at the new and full moon; for this planet was the first calendar. They assembled in arms; for arms were the mark of freedom: and they preferred to incur the danger of abuse, rather than that any man should appear without this honorable badge. The priests presided over the assembly; for God was the only sovereign, whom they all revered, in common. Silence was proclaimed; and the chief, or first man, declared on what account they were summoned. The elders, to whom many years had given experience, the nobles, or those who knew, by inheritance from their forefathers, how to manage the affairs of the district, and what rights to uphold, and how advantages were to be obtained over the neighboring tribes, uttered a short, simple, and impressive, speech, with real or assumed frankness of manner. Traces of these ancient customs may yet be found, in our proverbs, which occasionally were adopted into the first laws: they were

distinguished by a strong sense, and a combination of certain tones and words, which assist the memory, and which the refined ear of the moderns, often too fastidious, rejects, as savoring of bad taste. The clashing of arms was the signal of applause; and hissing and murmuring declared the disapprobation of the assembly. The high crimes of treason, cowardice, and all other degrading misdemeanors, here underwent judgement. It was for this reason, that, in later times, when kings came to represent the sovereignty of the whole nation, and had armed themselves with full authority, capital punishments were exclusively referred to them: bailiffs exercised this power, as their deputies, but always in public; until, after the rise of cities, the councils, being intrusted with the same function, under various pretences rendered the exercise of it secret. The ancient Germans thought it right, by the spectacle of a public execution, to render great crimes the object of general horror, and to punish mean and depraved actions, by drowning the delinquent in their marshes. In illustrating the penal regulations of antiquity, we must often have recourse to figurative allusions. Cowardice was punished with death, in order that the fugitive might be overtaken by that evil which he was most anxious to shun, and might find it more dreadful, on account of the public ignominy conjoined with it, than the field of battle. The common assembly decided, also, concerning complaints that were brought before them, against the awards of the judicial courts.

A single chief seldom presided over several tribes, and never over the whole nation. The chief, with about one hundred companions (counts) or elders, (grauen, or grafen,) presided over the maintenance of justice, in each district: each hamlet had its judicial court. A leader was elected, in time of war, and was naturally intrusted with military power. It came to pass, afterwards, that, when the Germans entered upon their conquests, they were necessarily under the military command of their leader; and, in order to re-

serve their acquisitions, they found themselves obliged to leave the authority in his hands ; thus their ancient liberty, and the form of government which regularly reverted with the return of peace, fell, by degrees, into oblivion. It was equally natural, that, as conquests were achieved by several tribes, in alliance, they should all acknowledge one supreme leader ; and that the new constitution should no longer rest, as that which had prevailed in the hamlets of Germany, on the relations of families and neighbors, but should be founded on the exigencies of war, which required a concentrated power, capable of decisive measures and rapid and effective execution. It was thus that the democracies of the Teutonic people, handed down by their forefathers, underwent a gradual transition into the governments of modern Europe.

As the chief, the general or duke had the choice of his companions left to his discretion ; but his success and reputation depended on the wisdom of his selection. For, before the passions of men, inflamed by the riches and pleasures of the South, had rendered a multitude of laws necessary, and before the opposition of various parties had fixed accurate limits to the powers of each rank in the state, eminent wisdom and able counsellors gave greater authority to the leaders of the people, than the kings are able to maintain, in most monarchical governments. Such a leader was the soul of the nation ; he became an arbiter between neighboring tribes ; his regulations were imitated ; and his decisions became rules of action. That noble birth gave, even then, a considerable advantage towards the attainment of power, depended upon the circumstance, that, before the art of writing was known, family sayings constituted the only species of learning ; and that, where property existed, the possession of land, which was the only kind of wealth, procured dependents and extensive influence.

The religion of the ancient Germans is not well understood, because their mythology is described by for-

eign writers. It is generally agreed, that God was worshipped by all the tribes, in the most striking powers of Nature, or in his most beneficial agencies; in the sun, the moon, in fire, and in the earth. The Germans, without the intervention of images, which they had not skill to form, adored, also, in the venerable darkness of ancient groves, the ghosts of departed heroes, who had deserved the eternal gratitude of their nation. Once, every year, in the country of the Semnones, deputies from the tribes approached, with their hands bound, as slaves of the power which presided over the awful place, the inaccessible forest of the Sun: to him, they sacrificed a man, holding the belief, that human crimes can only be expiated by human blood, and they retired, without turning their backs on the sacred spot. In a forest in Rugen, stood the car of the local goddess: at intervals, as the priests related, she came down from her blessed abodes, and drove her chariot; on which occasions, a general peace was proclaimed, and all public and private enmities had an end. It is uncertain, whether, in Irmensule, (or *the pillars of Herman*,) near Pallerborn, the Saxons adored the god of war or the ghost of the great Arminius, who, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had terrified Augustus Cæsar, and afterwards withstood the arms of the renowned Germanicus.

Young men were presented with a sword, by their kinsmen, or by the chief, in the midst of the popular assembly. As soon as the young German was armed, he passed from under the paternal authority into the national jurisdiction; his person, his honor, and his property, belonged, henceforth, to his country. Frequent feuds exercised their vigilance and courage: these were determined in the assembly of the people, in which the youth, who associated himself in the enterprise, was praised as a lover of arms and of renown. From such an undertaking it was impossible to retreat, without incurring the utmost infamy. When no occasion was found, at home, for such contests, men sought

them in other tribes, in order that they might return, covered with glory, and bearing the skull of some fallen warrior, which was afterwards ornamented, and used for drinking beer or must, on days of merry carousal. A seat at the festive board, or a gift of arms, were the only pay which a German received for his merits ; but the strongest incentive was the anxiety to be always in action, and never to become enervated by repose. This misfortune befell the Cherusci, the nation of Arminius, and it was dreaded, with good reason ; for a delusive peace,* as Tacitus has well said, is to be deprecated by those who dwell in the midst of nations incapable of restraining their desires, and possessed of the means of obtaining their gratification. With them, justice and moderation are mere words, which belong to the most powerful.

By these customs, the Germans were formed for conquest. The warriors flocked after the banners of the enterprising youths who had acquired distinction. Clovis, when he founded the kingdom of France, had scarcely attained his twentieth year. Instead of rewarding his comrades with feasts and arms, he distributed estates among them : every man secured to his fellows the perpetual enjoyment of their lots or allodial shares, and the whole number, collectively, guaranteed the permanence of the commonwealth, which was thus constituted.

The chief strength of the German armies consisted in their infantry. In Westphalia, the cavalry of the Teuchteri was distinguished, among whom the bravest cavalier inherited the greatest portion, particularly the horses and stable. For infantry, no tribe was more

* Idque jucundius quam tutius fuit : quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas ; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt.—*Tacitus de Moribus Germanicæ, Chap. xxxvi.*

[And that was more pleasant than it was safe ; because one cannot have a sure peace, among people without self-control, and of great physical strength ; when recourse is had to force, moderation and justice are merely words which belong to the more powerful.—*Tacitus on the Manners of the Germans, Chap. xxxvi.*]

celebrated than the Hessians, or Catti, who dwelt in the district of Catzen-ellenbogen, and were better trained than all others, to military discipline, and to the manœuvres of regular warfare. The Hessians were not only very tall, powerful, and undaunted warriors, who intimidated their foes by their fierce and terrific aspect, but they also possessed secure military positions, and were under a more strict obedience to their leaders, than any other troops. "All the Germans know how to fight," says Tacitus, "but the Catti, alone, are acquainted with the manner of conducting war." The shields of the commanders were distinguished by brilliant colors,—the origin of coats of arms. The shield was the only defensive weapon; for it was thought sufficient, that the arm should be secured, which is able to succor every part. A few of the chiefs bore, also, a cuirass and helm. Among the Hessians, the young men wore iron rings, as a badge of servile rank, until the slaughter of an enemy had proved them to be deserving of their freedom. They were accustomed to leave the beard unshaven, until warlike exploits had proved their manhood. The Lombards, and some other tribes, suffered it always to grow, as the Athenians did, in the time of Miltiades, and the Romans, before the age of Scipio. Among the weapons of assault, the most formidable was a dart, which terminated, like a bodkin,* in a sharp point, and was equally mischievous, when used for thrusting or for throwing from a distance: they also carried lances. The best quality of their horses was swiftness. Before the battle, a war-song was chanted, by the bards, who were the singers and philosophers of the Germans: the leader was inspired with hope or fear, according as the tone of the war-song was high or low. Sometimes, in order to render the sound more horrible, they held their hollow shields before their mouths. With a similar design, we are informed that the Ares, by which name the Tartars

* Tacitus says, they were called "frameæ," [a short spear, javelin, or sword.] Pfiem is the German word for a bodkin.—T.

distinguish the Votiacks, a race of Finns, in Casan, bear black shields and armor, which excite the terror of their enemies, particularly in nightly encounters. Before the battle, a single combat was often fought, by agreement.

Among the Hessians, there was a company of young men, who imposed an obligation on themselves, to be always the foremost in battles, for which service they were maintained by the public cost. The order of battle was generally in a wedge-shaped column; by which they sought to present a narrow front to the enemy, and to penetrate his ranks. The troops were drawn up, according to clans or families; and, when it was possible, the wives and children of the combatants were spectators of the battle, from some secure place. The mothers exulted in binding the glorious wounds which their sons had received, and the warriors found their sweetest recompense in the animated praises of their wives. How could they fail to exert themselves to the utmost, when all that they held most dear was saved or lost, by the issue of the contest?

The chiefs had similar motives to exertion, inasmuch as all their power, in the tribe, depended on their conduct in the field; the remembrance of their exploits, in war, was the principal foundation of their authority, during peace. Even the conqueror of Varus, himself, the defender of German liberty against the conspiracy of Maroboduus, the penetrating, the heroic, the popular, and insinuating, Arminius, when he attempted to usurp a greater degree of power than that which properly belonged to him in time of peace, fell, like Cæsar, to whom he deserved to be compared, in his own country, and by the hands of his comrades, and his fame only survived in the songs of the warlike chiefs. It was so much the more difficult to obtain military renown, among the Germans, in any high degree, as this sole virtue of barbarians was so universal: it is the sole virtue, since all their other good qualities are natural to them, and require no sacrifice; yet, hard as it

was to gain, the renown of Arminius has survived a thousand less illustrious names. With what animation must those troops have been inspired, whose leader was obliged to distinguish himself as the bravest among them, while his comrades exerted their utmost power to obtain the highest name, and while each clan fought, not only for the victory of the day, but for the only valuable reward before the introduction of wealth, for the preeminence in military fame above the other tribes; when, in addition to these motives, it was disgraceful to leave the chieftain unrevenged; and when prodigies of valor were excited by the feelings of friendship, which are so lively and powerful, where the affections of the heart have not been dissipated by the causes which operate in civilized society!

These northern people were distinguished by tall statures, blue eyes, red hair and beards; they were indefatigable in war, but indolent in sedentary labors; they endured hunger more patiently than thirst, and cold, than the heat of the meridian sun. They disdained towns, as the refuge of a timorous, and the hiding places of a thievish, populace; they burnt them, in the countries which they conquered, or suffered them to fall into decay; and centuries elapsed, before they surrounded their villages with walls. Their huts, dispersed like those of the Alpine people, were placed on the banks of rivulets, or near fountains, or in woods, or in the midst of their fields. Every farm constituted a distinct centre, round which, the herds of the owner wandered, or where, among agricultural tribes, the women and slaves tilled the land. The Germans used very little clothing, for the habit of enduring cold served them in its stead; the hides of beasts, the spoils of the chase, hung from the shoulders of the warriors, and the women wore woollen robes, ornamented with feathers or with patches of skins, which they selected for their splendid and various tints. The use of clothes, which, fitting accurately the different parts of the body, covered the whole of it, was introduced many ages after

the times we are treating of, and was looked upon, even then, as a signal corruption of manners. The arms, even of the women, were generally naked, and it was long before the coquette learnt to conceal her sidelong looks under the shelter of a bonnet. Both sexes went with their breasts exposed, and many walked barefoot.

They rose late from their pallets of straw, for the men were accustomed to sit carousing till the depth of night ; and, after washing themselves, they ate their porridge, (which was made of roasted corn,) put on their arms, and assembled in their public resorts. Their food chiefly consisted of flesh, butter, cheese, and fruits : beer and the must of fruits continued to be the beverage of the Suevi, when the borderers of the Rhine became fond of the juice of the grape. At their meals, marriages were proposed, enmities reconciled, and enterprises agreed upon ; and, when they had discussed these matters, with open hearts, on the following day they took them into final consideration. These spirited and courageous men displayed, in the company of strangers, and persons of high rank, that bashfulness, which arises from the apprehension of being deficient in some particular, or of not appearing altogether in a suitable manner. For the rest, they had that openness of heart, which excludes dissimulation, and frequently even discretion. Hospitality was, with them, not a virtue, but a distinction, for which the inhabitants of the village contended among themselves. A gift was commonly presented to the guest, on his departure from their roof. The manners of more civilized nations have, in other respects, their advantages ; but the Germans were, individually, better, and more valiant, and possessed more robust and finer persons.

The young men were not allowed, before their twentieth year, to pay their addresses to the rustic girls ; and then they sought out the most robust, and those of freshest complexion. A horse, an ox, a dart, a sword and shield, were the presents which the youth

gave to the future housewife, who united herself to him for all the toils and pleasures of life, and who was to entertain their common children with similar objects. Divorces were not thought of, and violation of the marriage compact was rarely heard of, and was punished severely, as showing the greatest depravity. Although it was allowed to the women, after the death of the first husband, to marry a second, the greater number continued, through life, to cherish the memory of their first love. The great men were accustomed to marry more than one wife, since more than one clan, or several distinguished families, were desirous of becoming connected with them. The affection of the wife, her constant fidelity, were the chief sources of happiness and the most natural feelings. The women took the care of the whole household ; their lives were meritorious, and they were not without influence on the political conduct of the men. The old Velleda, to whom the gods opened the secrets of futurity, was reverently consulted by the nation. The Germans had no domestic servants, for their wives and children supplied that office ; but they had slaves, who tilled their fields, and took care of their flocks, and were rewarded with a part of the produce. The slaves were well treated, lived like their masters, ate with them, were clothed like them, and slept near the herds, on beds of straw ; but the life of the master was not forfeited, by the murder of his slave, because a freeman was considered of far greater value to the nation than a bondman, and because the act brought with it its own punishment. The slaves were partly men who had made over the right of their persons to another, for the sake of sustenance, and partly captives, taken in war.

In fact, there existed lords before there were any domains. Among the Suevi of Cæsar, the existence of the latter was impossible, because this pastoral nation had no idea of hereditary possessions ; and, in the annual division of land, the same field never fell to the lot of one owner, during two successive years. As

little was it allowed, that the huts, which were carried about, should become houses capable of protecting the effeminate inmates against inclement weather. Money and commerce were unknown. The Suevi were anxious for peace and liberty; and concerning all other things, they were indifferent. Strabo, Mela, and Tacitus, have described these manners; and there are still vestiges of them, among the mountains of the Alps. They had no vineyards, nor any word to signify vintage; for *Herbst*, the German term for Autumn, means, simply, the collecting of fruits; but the wine of Gaul was so grateful to them, that Domitian found it necessary to prohibit the culture of the vine on the frontiers of that country, in order to remove a temptation to warlike aggressions. They cared not for manufactures, but were desirous of enjoying, in indolent ease, the gifts of Nature. They were less anxious, that their population should be numerous, than that each individual should be content, and should obtain what he wanted, with little labor. When the people became too abundant, they sought occasion for wars. These men, who were so indefatigable in the field, gave themselves up, when peace was concluded, to tranquil indolence; the morrow passed with them like the yesterday, and the present like the former year; birth, marriage, and death, were the only remarkable epochs of their existence.

Their cattle were small, but strong, and their cows gave abundance of milk. Those tribes who dwelt upon the amber coast were, at first, astonished that the foreign merchant set a value on that production of Nature. When commerce took its rise among them, they preferred silver to gold, because the pieces were more numerous, and because they could always change them. Old coinage was most esteemed by them, and they placed no confidence in new money. So the King of Taprobane, when the coinage of different emperors, of the early period, was shown to him, from the equality of the weight, formed so exalted an opinion of the good faith and justice of the nation, that he sent an embassy

to Rome. Arms, horses, and gold chains, for family memorials, were the gifts which they most joyfully received. Racing, wrestling, and throwing stones, were their favorite sports; and they were so excessively devoted to the die, that, after a man had lost his flocks in the game, he often staked his own person, and, by an unlucky throw, became a slave.

The bodies of the common people were buried, and those of distinguished persons were burnt, at particular places: together with the warrior, were interred his arms and his war-horse. Hillocks were thrown over their graves; the public lamentation for them was short; but they were never forgotten by their friends.

We have more laws than the old Germans, who stood not in need of complex and numerous regulations. One might prefer to be a Greek or Roman; to belong to nations who had so manifold, such noble and refined, enjoyments; but to what calamities did not these advantages reduce those who possessed them? It was a splendid distinction, to be a Dictator,—a Cæsar; but it was no mean privilege, which Arminius enjoyed, to be the avenger, and afterwards to become the tutelar god, of his country. In the simple and independent life of the Germans, the reputation of extensive knowledge gave no great lustre to the name; but fame is but for a few, and happiness is the pursuit of all. When the latter is wanting, the former cannot supply its place; and when a man enjoys his existence, he forgets to seek renown. It was a misfortune for our fathers, to find, in their conquests, many nations who were in every way depraved: among them, they acquired more artificial, but not better, habits. That ancient liberty; those manners, so celebrated by Tacitus; those ever-victorious arms; and, afterwards, that long and gloomy night of oppression, of superstition, and of crimes; show, abundantly, how dangerous, for a free people, is a revolution in their manners and institutions. The lofty virtues of the ancients are not for every man. Few have the genius necessary to effect

alterations in the laws of their country, and very few are in circumstances which afford them an opportunity. But it is in the power of every man, at every time, to attain to the virtues which distinguished our forefathers, while they dwelt in the German forests, the principal of which was the habit of restraining their desires and wants.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE EARLIEST WARS BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE IMPERIAL ARMIES.

ALREADY, in Trajan's time, the Roman statesmen apprehended some calamity, on the side of the north, and they esteemed the empire happy, in the want of union among the German nations, and in the circumstance, that the introduction of manufactures, of wine, and of wants hitherto unknown, from the Roman provinces, was effecting a change in the manners of the more remote tribes, while the migration of the Marcomanni and Sicambri had diminished the strength of the barbarians on their nearest frontier. When the Allemanni were no longer able to defend their independence, against Adrian, they penetrated further into the depths of the German forests.

[A. D. 162.] The first attempt at a powerful invasion happened in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, two hundred and seventy-five years after the celebrated migration of the Cimbri. The Allemanni threw themselves upon the territory of the Rhæti; to the westward, the province of the Saone was in commotion; and Marcomir, in the east, made an impression on Pannonia and Noricum. Marcus Aurelius appeased all these disturbances. The circumstances of his wars are unknown to us, but the enemy was deterred, by them, for a long time, from attempting similar invasions.

[A. D. 216.] The Allemanni were afterwards defeated, on the banks of the Maine, by Bassianus Caracalla; the wives of the slaughtered warriors, to whom life appeared contemptible, without glory and freedom, slew themselves and their children.

[A. D. 235.] While the Emperor Alexander was occupied with the Persians on the Euphrates, the Allemanni took arms to revenge their defeat. The Roman Monarch led his armies from the Euphrates to the Maine, and speedily granted pardon to the Germans, who sued for peace. Maximinus pursued them into the Hessian marshes; but the next generation, rising with fresh spirit, broke through the fortifications, and invaded, at the same time, the province of the Saone, the Germania Prima, and the territory of the Rhæti. A prodigious swarm, led by their chieftain Crochus, penetrated through the Tyrol, into Italy, and seem to have spread themselves as far as Ravenna. [A. D. 260.] At the same period, the celebrated confederacy of the Franks first made its appearance on the theatre of Europe. They passed the Rhine into the Netherlands, traversed Gaul, every where plundering and laying waste the country, crossed the Pyrenees, and sacked the Spanish capital, Tarragona. [A. D. 250.] Shortly before this time, the Goths had passed through the Grecian provinces in Europe and Asia.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOTHS.

“IN the furthest North,” says Jornandes, on the authority of ancient sagas and traditionary poems, “a number of hostile tribes dwelt in the country of Scanzia,” or Scandinavia. “This region extends itself to the boundary of the habitable globe, where, in the Winter, a gloomy night covers the earth with darkness, during

forty days, and, in the Summer, the sun remains above the horizon, for an equal time. The Suethones* dwell nearest to us, who, with swift horses, chase the few wild animals that inhabit their woods, and transmit their valuable skins, through a hundred different nations, to us, in Italy." Animals, which are now only found in Siberia, were probably, at that time, wild in Sweden, as the urus and the reindeer were, at the feet of the Alps. "In this same part of the world, dwells the gentle race of Finns; and, in the adjoining country, the Danes, a nation of huge stature. From this region," continues Jornandes, "came the Goths. They embarked in sufficient number to fill three ships, and landed on the Almerugian coast, (the shore of Pomerania and Mecklenburg,) where they defeated the wandering hordes of Vandals. After five generations, during which they had become very numerous, Filimer led their host, with all the herds belonging to them, out of the northern regions, into the countries which are contiguous to the Euxine Sea." With a similar tradition, Paulus, the son of Warnefrid, chancellor of the last King of the Lombards, commences the history of his people: "Ihor (Igor) and Asio were the leaders of the first emigration, which set out in three divisions; Ambri and Assi were the chiefs of the Vandals, and their country was called Skoningen. The former exacted a tribute from the wanderers, as a rent for the meadows on which they fed their flocks. Afterwards, Skoningen was found to be no longer capable of affording them sustenance, and a multitude of people disputing their passage, the champion, on whose success the enemy had pledged their cause, was killed, in a single combat, by a slave: hereupon, the slaves of the army were made free." In like manner, Paulus relates their journey, through a number of unknown countries, until they arrived at the borders of Poland and Hungary. It was here, that his nation, the Lombards, fixed their settlement. It has been shown, in another place, how the traditionary songs of

* Probably, the Swedes.

the old Swiss, at Schuytz, Unterwalden, in Hasliland, and Oberlændergebürge, agree with the above; so that one saga makes up the deficiencies in the others, and all of them have the same leading traits. It appears probable, that, in very ancient times, before the existence of Rome, perhaps anterior to the age of any history, the Gothic race dwelt in the northern regions, whence, according to Bailly's conjecture, many other nations also emigrated. There they wandered to and fro. Perhaps, on one occasion, they followed the god Woden, or a chief who bore his name, far into the depths of the northern wilderness; and, at other times, finding it impossible, or having no inclination, to fertilize those sterile regions, were conducted, by other leaders, into the southern countries. Accordingly, we find them placed, by Pomponius Mela, on the Prussian shores. After the battle against the Vandals, they were separated from the Lombards; while the former remained in Prussia, we hear of the latter in the northern part of the territory of Brunswick. The Goths afterwards spread themselves along the plains and steppes of the Ukraine, and further on, towards the Don, while the Lombards held their course more to the westward. In their original seats, in Scandinavia, the names and other vestiges of the tribes remain; and the inclination for foreign enterprises and adventurous wanderings was kept alive, by constantly-existing causes, and may be traced down to the twelfth century. It is scarcely possible, in this instance, to take advantage of the only means, by which light can be thrown on obscure subjects of this nature, namely, the comparison of dialects; because, from the remote age of which we are treating, very little has reached our times, in a tolerably perfect state; and because, the higher we go in antiquity, the greater resemblance do we discover between languages. How many Latin roots has Ihre discovered, in the idiom of Ulfila? Very little would remain to the Greek, were we to restore to the North and East all that it has derived from these sources. Schloezer finds no

greater difference between the old Slavonic of the Russian annals and the old German, than between our High Dutch and the Low Dutch: a multitude of German roots exist in the Persic, possibly introduced by means of the Parthians. From all this, it would follow, that it might be possible to decipher the primitive language of the North, by the aid of the numerous dialects which are derived from it, but that the peculiar portion which each tribe inherited is too imperfectly known, to enable us to ascertain, on sufficient grounds, the degrees of their affinity, in such remote times. Commerce, religion, local circumstances, migrations, wars, and sciences, have produced great modifications in all of them.

It may therefore easily be conceived, that the Goths, who, in the third century, dwelt on the north of the Black Sea, and further on in the provinces of Russia, which the Lettish people still call Gothland, may, at one time, have had their seats in the more remote North, without our being able to determine, with which of the northern races they had the nearest affinity.

The chiefs of the Goths were of the venerable and illustrious family of the Baltes; a name which imports, gleaming with light, bold, or enterprising. Power was hereditary among them; land, slaves, and other possessions, devolving in the same manner. Yet the nation had, as in the first ages of other European monarchies, a free choice among the princes of this house. The chief was also the supreme director, in affairs of religion, who offered up to the heroes, his ancestors, suitable sacrifices, in order that, through them, he might be animated with the same noble virtues, by which they had gained immortality. The Goths, like the Chinese, considered the patriarch of the royal house as a kind of mediator, appointed to offer up their prayers to the Supreme Deity, who could only then refuse to hear them, when his descendants ceased to display those virtues, which were dearer to him than his own progeny. The same chieftain, who was both general and high-priest, performed the duties of a supreme

judge. Yet, although a single individual, the representative of God among the people, united so many dignities, in his own person, still, the Goths were free; his whole power depended on their arms; he was every thing through them, and, without the consent of the Gothic nation, he could neither make laws nor carry on war. This constitution became disorganized, when, after their conquests, a part of the nation laid aside the use of arms, in order to apply themselves to the arts of peace. From that time, the king had only the nobility to fear, and, if they agreed with him, his power was absolute; when the nobility became degraded, the supreme authority remained almost without any bounds.

Of the Gothic ‘*Wohlbehagen*,’ for so they named their laws, we possess the fewer traces, as the art of writing, the invention of the South, was to them unknown.

It is uncertain, whether, in Woden, they worshipped the spirit of a hero, who had conducted his people far from the Roman arms into the northern deserts. The God of the Getæ, the *Gradivus Pater*, *Geticis qui præsidet arvis*,* was propitiated, by human victims, to bestow victory on his people, and probably the Getæ were originally of the same stock with the Goths. The latter, when they went to battle, chanted songs of praise, in honor of Widigan, Fridigern, Etheshamer, and other ancient heroes. Such songs were purely historical, for it was thought arrogant to adorn them.

About the time of the Emperor Decius, this nation excited commotions, in the vicinity of the Black Sea. They passed over and burnt Cyzicus, Chalcedon, and Ephesus. Crossing the Danube, they traversed Greece, plundered Athens, and made the islands of the Ægean Sea tremble. It appears, that the possession of the Tauric peninsula, or Crim Tartary, gave the Goths this preponderance; it is the key of the neighboring seas and coasts; and its chieftains, well acquainted with the

* Mars, the deity who protected the territory of the Getæ.

navigation of the Euxine, are enabled to make hostile attacks, with greater advantage than they can be assailed in their own quarters from without. The excellent Emperor Decius fell, by the arms of the Goths, or perished in a morass, upon which, Gallus concluded a treaty of peace so ignominious, that he was, on that account, judged to be unworthy of the throne. Rome only survived, by the immense disproportion of her internal strength. Claudius and Aurelian revenged the glory of the empire ; they drove the Allemanni out of Italy and beyond the mountains to the river Lech, and obliged the Goths to conclude a treaty, by which the further Dacia was given up to them, and their most valiant youth were taken into the military service of the Romans. It was hoped, that their warlike genius might thus be sufficiently employed ; but they became more formidable, by learning the tactics of disciplined armies, and thus rendered themselves the masters of many Northern hordes. "Often," says the historian, "the Vandals were vanquished by their arms. The Marcomanni became tributary to them ; the Quadi served in their ranks ; and they overcame the Gepidi." It appears, that, in the middle of the fourth century, Poland, and the western provinces of European Russia, as far as the Esthonian and Livonian coasts, acknowledged, more or less, the laws of this powerful nation. With the Heruli, who then possessed the territory of Brandenburg, the Goths carried on more frequent wars. The armies of the former, consisting chiefly of light troops, were adapted to petty warfare, and able to skirmish, in a hasty flight. The Gothic order of battle was firm and close ; their assault was tremendous ; their resistance always powerful ; and their arms finally victorious.

The Goths were distinguished by a certain soundness of understanding and humanity of disposition, which rendered their simple manners more susceptible of true civilization than those of the wild and ferocious nations, who chiefly subsisted by the chase.

CHAPTER X.

ALTERATIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

SCARCELY was the death of Aurelian known, when the Allemanni, probably in conjunction with other tribes, and strengthened, especially, by the assistance of the Franks, overspread, with myriads of barbarians, the territory of Gaul, and gained seventy cities, by the terror of their arms. Probus, indeed, came to the succor of the empire, with all the virtues of the ancient warriors. He pursued the Germans over the Rhine and across the Neckar, and forced them to give hostages and a tribute; their youth were enlisted into the legions, and Gaul, now secured by his arms, and by those fortifications, of which we yet trace the magnificent remains, in Franconia and Suabia, again cultivated her fields and vineyards; but this warrior was assassinated, too soon for the completion of his great plan of fortification for the frontiers. Rage, aggravated by their late misfortunes, or some internal movements, unknown to us, who are only acquainted with the Roman confines, excited many tribes, soon after his death, to repeat their perilous enterprises.

While the oppression of greedy and tyrannical governors forced the peasants of Gaul to seditious combinations, the whole Rhætian territory, from the Danube to the borders of Italy, was overrun by the Allemanni. The Rhenish provinces of Gaul were laid waste, by the same barbarians, while Saxon adventurers, by sea, plundered the Gallic shores of the Atlantic; and the Franks, sailing through the straits of Hercules, gained possession of Syracuse. The whole North seemed roused to one simultaneous movement. A king of the Gepidi, probably encroached upon by the Goths, had expelled the Burgundians from the banks of the Vistula. This nation, as distinguished for their love of freedom, and

susceptibility of the best culture, as by their gigantic form and stature, had arrived on the Saale, and their alliance seemed to be courted by the Romans. But the Burgundians were too subtle, to mistake the scheme, by which it was intended to weaken the Allemanni and themselves, by reciprocal injuries, and they found it expedient to form an amicable combination with the latter. The Heruli came further southwards; the Chabiones, and other unknown nations, were now heard of, for the first time. While the empire was thus disturbed, by invasions of its frontiers, and by hostile aggressions from the coasts, Britain revolted, under the government of Carausius.

During this imminent danger, the Emperor Diocletian found it necessary to introduce new forms of government. From the era of the expulsion of Tarquin, the people of Rome had possessed the supreme power, in the city and through the provinces, during four hundred and sixty-five years. During that time, each private citizen had received the adulation of the great. From the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, the armies had ruled, with a decided preponderance; but the senate still enjoyed the shadow of a legislative and supreme authority. This was ever on the decline; it diminished, insensibly, under Trajan and his three excellent successors, but with ominous threatenings of future ruin. When emperors, who despised all civil forms, had degraded the senate, and allowed every license to the legions, the latter soon became more dangerous to their leaders than to their enemies, and disorder, together with weakness, appeared on every side. Diocletian, a soldier from Dalmatia, a ruler of great ability, shared his imperial rank with his friend Maximianus Herculus, to whose rude and active spirit he confided the defence of the Western countries, while he himself remained in Asia. Moreover, in order to deprive seditious pretenders of all hopes of the throne, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, under the title of Cæsars, were publicly declared by Diocletian and his colleague successors to the

imperial power. Galerius was a man of ignoble birth and uncultivated manners, but brave and honest; the other was a benevolent and enlightened man, and became a successful imitator of the virtues of his great uncle, Claudius.

The Cæsars were sent to the frontiers, that they might merit the high distinction, for which they were destined; and the emperors, particularly Diocletian, occupied themselves with internal affairs. Diocletian surrounded the majesty of the throne with an imposing pomp; he assumed the tiara, and other insignia of Eastern monarchs, and exacted, from all who approached him, the token of adoration. Formerly, the emperors had worn a simple robe of purple, without gold or precious stones, and were usually accosted, like other senators; the alteration of costume was made with solemnity, and by both the sovereigns, on the same day. Rome, the mistress of the world, ceased to be the seat of government, and was visited only once, in twenty years, by Diocletian, who made Nicomedia his chief residence, while Maximianus held his court at Milan.

It seemed probable, that the division of power would facilitate its maintenance, and that the ambition of the great might henceforward be held in subjection. An abode in the neighborhood of the Goths and Allemanni seemed more conducive to the preservation of military virtues, than the corrupt life of the metropolis; in fact, the Goths were restrained from further aggressions, and the Allemanni were defeated at Langres, and near Windisch, in Helvetia. Britain was reduced to obedience, and Persia was forced to consent to a peace favorable to Rome; but it required no great knowledge of human nature to foresee, that two or four sovereigns would not be for ever unanimous; and that the two Cæsars would not always wait, with patience, for the vacation of the highest dignity. The provinces, exhausted by devastations or bad government, saw, already, during the life of Diocletian, civil or rather internal wars break out, barbarians invited into the empire,

by pretenders to the throne, in order to assist them against their rivals, and new and more detested modes of crime succeed, in the place of former atrocities.

Yet, Diocletian enjoyed, with his colleague, to the twentieth year of his reign, that repose, which the exhausted state of the factions, and the military talents of the two Cæsars, afforded him ; until, at length, he laid down his authority, induced by the premature failure of his faculties, or as some, with less probability, suppose, by the impatience of the Cæsar Galerius. Maximian followed his example, unwillingly, and only by the compulsion of circumstances. Constantine was hereupon advanced, by his father Constantius, and Severus by Galerius, to the rank of Cæsars.

Constantius shortly afterwards terminated his benevolent reign and illustrious life. Galerius soon incurred the hatred of the Romans, by attempting to burden them with an impost ; and Maximian availed himself of this discontent, in order to reduce Italy under the sway of his son, Maxentius, in consequence of which, Severus was entirely stripped of his power. Maxentius undertook the government, under the direction of his father. In the mean time, the young Constantine gained the hearts of the British and Gallic legions, and forced both Galerius and Maximian to acknowledge him as a colleague in the imperial dignity. Maximian, not content with governing under the name of his son, caused a proposal to be made to Diocletian, to resume the sovereign power ; the latter showed the messengers who bore the commission to him, the beautiful gardens near Salona, in which he enjoyed, and was resolved still to enjoy, the pleasures of a splendid and tranquil retirement. At this time, Maxentius became intolerable to the Romans ; his guard was his only protection ; he abandoned himself to excessive debauchery ; and was the terror of all the opulent citizens. The nobles fled from the city, in crowds, while, amidst the general confusion, even agriculture was neglected, and the old Maximian was obliged to take refuge under the protec-

tion of Constantine who had married his daughter, from the violence of the youthful tyrant. But his own character was not less depraved than that of his son, and he soon formed projects against his son-in-law who had afforded him an asylum ; in consequence of which, Constantine, to avoid becoming his victim, put an end to his restless career, but allowed him to choose the manner of his death. Constantine marched, soon afterwards, invited by the great men of Rome, against Maxentius, and defeated him, near the metropolis, in a battle which cost the latter his life. The whole empire in the West thus fell into the hands of Constantine.

In the East, Galerius was dead : Maximinus Daza, his nephew, immoderate in wine and sensual pleasures, but at the same time eager for knowledge, had fallen by a speedy death. Constantine now formed an alliance with Licinius, a soldier, who, for his merits in warfare, had been honored with the friendship of Galerius, and raised, at length, to the dignity of Cæsar. They divided the empire between them, and named their sons, Crispus and Licinianus, their successors, with the same title which they had enjoyed. About this time, the old Diocletian died, as it is reported, by his own hand, indignant, because the new emperors had expressed themselves ungraciously towards him, on account of his absence from the marriage feast of Licinius.

At this conjuncture, the Emperors put an end to the persecution of the Christians, which had been commenced, ten years before, by Diocletian and his colleague. Constantine found it a wise measure to conciliate the millions in his empire, who were the intrepid worshippers of Jesus. After many years, towards the close of his life, he caused himself to be baptized. It seems probable, that he was induced to delay this rite so long, from a reluctance to abandon certain forbidden ceremonies, for which the severity of the Church rendered it very difficult, for those who had received baptism, to obtain absolution ; but he acknowledged his conversion to Christianity, and published two edicts,

one of which granted to Christians the use of the temples of the gods, in places where convenient churches were wanting ; and the other gave them the preference, in elections, to all offices of dignity, both civil and military. In the course of about seventy years from that time, the Christian faith had become the prevailing religion of the empire.

The throne of the Cæsars has fallen : Greeks and Romans are no more ; but Christianity exerts its influence on our age, and on all future times. It is here, that some account of the old religions of the world, and of the origin of the Christian faith and of the Church, will find its natural place.

GLOSSARY

OF WORDS AND PHRASES NOT EASILY TO BE UNDERSTOOD
BY THE YOUNG READER.

[Many names of persons, places, &c., which occur in this Volume, will be found explained in one of the places where they occur.]

Abbé, the title of an order of French ecclesiastics, before the Revolution.

Aborigines, the earliest inhabitants of a country ; those of whom no original is to be traced.

Absolution, the pardon or remission of sin, pronounced by ecclesiastical authority.

Academicians, French, members of a society in Paris, devoted to the cultivation of literature and criticism, called the *French Academy*. It was formed in 1629, and has exerted a powerful influence upon the French literature and language. The number of members is forty, and an admission to it is a high distinction.

Adelung, John Christopher, a distinguished German scholar, remarkable for his researches into the history and origin of the German language, of which he prepared a comprehensive and valuable dictionary. He was born in 1732, and died in 1806.

Ædile, (from *ædes*, a building,) an officer in ancient Rome, whose duty it was to take charge of the temples and other public buildings.

Agatharcidas, a philosopher and historian of Samos, (an island in the Grecian Archipelago,) who probably lived about two hundred years before Christ.

Alexandria. At this capital of Lower Egypt, which was founded by Alexander the Great, his successors, the Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy Lagus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, established a school of learning, and founded, in the third century before Christ, an ample library. The city continued, for some centuries, to be a seat of learning ; provision being made for the support of *learned men*, who studied there, and gave instructions to others.

Algarotti, Francis, Count, an Italian writer, of very thorough knowledge in various branches of science and art. He excelled in mathematics and astronomy, was an extensive traveller, and an admirable critic in matters relating to the fine arts. He was born in 1712, and died in 1764.

Amber, a yellowish, transparent, inflammable substance, hard enough to receive a fine polish, capable of being wrought into various ornamental articles, and forming an ingredient in some varnishes.

Amnesty, an act of oblivion ; the entire freedom from penalty,

granted to those who have been guilty of any neglect or crime, (as in case of the rebellion of a whole country,) usually on condition that they return to their duty within a certain period.

Anapæstic feet. The *anapæst*, in ancient versification, was a *foot*, or measure, consisting of two short and one long, or of two unaccented and one accented, syllables. The following line, from Scott, is composed of anapæstic feet.

“Have you e’er | heard of knight | like the young | Lochinvar?”

Anile, (from the Latin, *ŭnus*, an old woman,) trivial, old-womanish.

Anile tales are trivial stories, like old women’s gossip.

Anna Perenna, a goddess, in whose honor the Romans instituted festivals, which were celebrated on the fifteenth of March. The origin of the goddess, and of her worship, are uncertain.

Anon., an abbreviation for *anonymous*, (Latin, without name.)

Anonymous writer, an author whose name is unknown.

Aratus, ‘the astronomer,’ was a Greek poet, who lived about three hundred years before Christ. He was the author of a poem on astronomy.

Archives, the places where important papers or records are kept, and sometimes the records or documents themselves.

Archon, a Greek word, signifying a *ruler*. The title of the chief magistrate of Athens. See page 82.

Areopagus, a Greek word, signifying *the hill of Mars*. The council or court of Areopagus (see page 82) was so called, because it assembled on a hill of this name, near Athens.

Argonautic voyage. The companions of Jason, in his expedition against Colchis, (see page 57,) were called *Argonauts*, a word derived from *Argo*, the name of the ship in which they sailed, and *ναῦτης*, (*nautes*,) a mariner.

Argyraspidæ, (Greek, from *αργυρος*, *arguros*, silver, and *ασπίς*, *aspis*, a shield,) a chosen body of troops in the service of Alexander the Great, who wore *silver shields*.

Aristophanes, a celebrated comic poet, who flourished at Athens, about four hundred and fifty years before Christ. Out of fifty-four comedies, of his composition, only eleven have come down to modern times. They abound in wit, and are written in a most elegant and polished style. Agreeably to the fashion of the day, living persons of the time were represented in these comedies, and exposed to the most open ridicule. See remark on page 120.

Arundelian marbles, a series of ancient sculptured marbles, procured in Greece, at the expense of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and brought to England in 1627. The inscriptions on these marbles are records of treaties, public contracts, chronicles of historical events, &c. A selection from these inscriptions was published in 1628, and the complete collection, in various editions, from 1676 to 1763.

Atlantis, among the ancients, was the name of a supposed island in the Atlantic ocean, of which vague accounts had been received from ships that had ventured out into the ocean. As its position was referred to a spot, where, afterwards, no island was found, it

was supposed that it had sunk. See page 108 The general opinion is, that its existence was imaginary.

Atridæ, descendants of *Atreus*, (father of Agamemnon and Menelaus.) The Greek termination *ides* gave the signification *a son or descendant of*; thus, the *Pisistratidæ* are the descendants of *Pisistratus*; a *Heraclide* is one of the posterity of *Hercules*.

Atticus, *Titus Pomponius*, a Roman, contemporary with Cicero, remarkable for his wealth, munificence, and elegant cultivation of mind. He did not mingle in politics, and lived undisturbed, during the latter part of his life, amid all the successive factions which reigned in Rome, preserving the friendship of the leaders of all parties. He died at the age of seventy-seven.

A. U. C., an abbreviation for *ab urbe condita*, from the foundation of the city (of Rome,) which event is usually referred to the year 753 before the Christian era.

Avatâr, in the Hindoo mythology, is an incarnation (or assumption of a bodily form) of the Deity. According to the Hindoos, numerous incarnations have taken place. Ten avatârs of the supreme god, or *Vishnu*, are particularly celebrated; in which he assumed, successively, the form of a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a dwarf, &c. The tenth is yet to take place.

Bacchanalian, riotous, licentious, like the revels held in honor of Bacchus, the ancient god of wine. *A bacchanalian*, a drunkard.

Bailiff, formerly the title of the superintendent or magistrate of a district; now, of a subordinate judicial officer.

Bailly, *Jean Sylvain*, an eminent astronomer and man of letters, and the author of a 'History of Astronomy,' born in Paris, in 1736. He was first President of the French National Assembly, and Mayor of Paris, in 1789, but, four years after, he fell a victim to the fury of the Revolution.

Balsam, a resinous substance flowing from certain trees, and employed in medicine.

Battering-ram, an ancient military engine, consisting of a long and heavy beam of wood, with an iron end in the shape of a ram's head, suspended from a frame of timbers, and employed for battering down the walls of a besieged city.

Bellerophon, one of the heroes of the fabulous age of antiquity. He attempted to ascend to Olympus, (the heaven of the Greek mythology,) upon the winged horse Pegasus, which the goddess Minerva had given him when he fought with the Chimæra, a fire-breathing monster; but was thrown off, and wandered in deserts, a melancholy and dejected man, till his death.

Bæotarch, (from *Bæotia*, and ἄρχω, *archo*, to govern,) a governor or magistrate of Bæotia.

Breviary, the book containing the daily service of the Church of Rome, which all Roman Catholics were formerly bound to read daily. Hence the word is applied to any manual for daily use.

Buffon, (Count,) one of the most celebrated naturalists of the eighteenth century, and the author of a voluminous and complete work on natural history. He died at Paris, in 1788, at the age of eighty-one years.

Byzantine monarchy. Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, in the year 395, divided the Roman empire into two parts, the Eastern and the Western empire. The former, which had its seat at Constantinople, (formerly Byzantium,) is styled the Byzantine empire, or monarchy. It continued till the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453.

Calendar, a register of the year, in which the divisions of months, days, &c., and the festivals and saints'-days, are marked.

Capitol, the citadel of ancient Rome, an edifice consisting of three temples, surrounded by a strongly-fortified wall, and standing upon the highest point of the city. It was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt, and was magnificently adorned. The name is also frequently applied to the public building in which the legislature of a state or country assemble to transact the public business.

Capudan pasha, one of the high officers of the Turkish empire ; high admiral.

Caravan, a Persian word, used to denote large companies which travel together in the Levant and Africa, for the sake of security from robbers, having in view, principally, trade and pilgrimages. Such a company has sometimes more than one thousand camels, to carry its baggage and goods.

Cardinal, principal ; most important. The *cardinal points* of the compass are North, South, East, and West.

Cassandra, a daughter of Priam, King of Troy. She is said to have received from Apollo the gift of prophecy, upon which, however, being offended with her, he imposed the condition, that no credit should be given to her predictions. When, therefore, during the Trojan war, she foretold the destruction of the city, her 'sooth-sayings' were disregarded by the Trojans.

Censors, magistrates at Rome, who kept a register of the number of people, and of their fortunes, and regulated the taxes. They also watched over the manners of the citizens. Two censors were chosen every fifth year.

Cerberus, a fabulous monster, a dog with three heads, who is said to have guarded the entrance to the infernal regions, and to have been subdued by Hercules.

Chaos, a rude and shapeless mass of matter, which, as sung by the ancient poets, existed previous to the formation of the world, and from which the universe was formed, by the hand and power of a superior being. Chaos was invoked as one of the oldest deities.

Circensian games, games exhibited in the Circus Maximus, or principal circus, a large oblong theatre, in ancient Rome, without a roof, and capable of containing three hundred thousand persons. The games or shows consisted of chariot and horse races, foot races, wrestling, boxing, throwing the discus, or quoit, &c.

Clarke, Edward Daniel, LL. D., a very celebrated English traveller and mineralogist. His travels in the North of Europe, and in the Asiatic and African countries bordering on the Mediterranean, have been published, and are of great value. He died in 1821.

Cloacæ, (Latin,) sewers or drains. The *cloacæ* of ancient Rome were structures of great costliness and durability, consisting of

subterranean arches of hewn stone. The principal cloaca, for a length of more than a thousand feet from the river Tiber, into which it emptied, was thirty feet high and thirteen feet wide. The other sewers had their outlets into it.

Coal formations. A term applied to the mineral beds, among which coal is found in *strata*, or layers. Sometimes one series of these strata extends over a large tract of country ; at others, two or more distinct or independent coal formations, deposited at different times, occur within a short distance of each other.

Coat of arms, figures or devices distinguishing different families, originally painted on the warrior's shield. The crusaders, in the thirteenth century, adopted the practice of wearing a surcoat, to prevent their armor being heated by the sun's rays. This surcoat was without sleeves, and open at the sides. It was at first of merely variegated patterns, but soon became adorned with the same devices (or armorial bearings, as they are called) as the shield ; hence the expression 'coat of arms.'

College, in its original sense, denoted a collection, or assembly. Thus we read of a college of magistrates, of priests, &c.

Comitia, a name given, in ancient Rome, to the assemblies of the people, held for electing magistrates, for passing laws, or for holding trials.

Condé, (Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé,) usually called 'the great Condé ;' an illustrious French general, of great talents, and remarkable for military success. He was born in 1621, and died in 1687.

Condottieri, (leaders,) the captains of those bands of soldiers, which were frequent in Italy, towards the end of the middle ages, who fought for pay and plunder, in the service of any party who would employ them.

Confederacy, a body of states or individuals, united by a league or compact. Switzerland comprises twenty-two cantons, or districts, which conduct their domestic concerns wholly independently of one another, but are united into a federative state, called *the Swiss confederacy*. The United States are also a confederacy.

Consulate, the office of a consul. See page 198.

Contingent, a proportion that falls to any individual upon a division ; as, the *contingent* of men, money, and provisions, supplied, in time of war, by the several members of an alliance, or by tributary provinces.

Cosmi, regulators ; (from the Greek κόσμος, *kosmos*, regularity, order, discipline.)

Curetes, (called also *Corybantes*,) a peculiar order of ancient priests, derived from Crete.

Curia, (plural *curiæ*.) The *curiæ* were public buildings in Rome, in which the inhabitants of the *wards* (called *curiæ*) met, and in which the senate was sometimes held. There were several of them, as, the Curia Hostilia, Octavia, Julia, &c., (the Hostiline, Octavian, Julian, *ward-halls*.)

Curule seat, a chair of state, used by certain classes of the Roman magistrates.

- Decade*, an aggregate or group of *ten*. The books of Livy are divided into *decades*.
- Decemviri*, (ten men,) Roman magistrates, ten in number, appointed (A. U. C. 301) to draw up a code of laws for the Roman people.
- Decury*, a body of ten men : the name of the smallest division of the cavalry in the Roman army.
- Degree*, in geography, the three hundred and sixtieth part of a circle surrounding the earth. Such a circle, being divided into three hundred and sixty equal parts, called degrees, each degree is subdivided into sixty equal parts, called minutes, or geographical miles ; each minute, again into sixty equal parts, called seconds. The sixty geographical miles of a degree are equal to about sixty-nine and a half English, or common, miles.
- Delphic god*, a title of Apollo, who had a celebrated temple at Delphi, which was also the seat of the most celebrated oracle of ancient Greece.
- Delta*, a Greek letter, (Δ) answering to our D. Islands of a triangular shape, at the mouths of rivers, are so called, from their similarity to this letter ; thus we speak of the Delta of the Nile, or of the Mississippi. These islands are formed by the mud which is brought down by the rivers and there deposited.
- Demetrius*, (named *Poliorceles*, that is, the conqueror of cities,) was King of Macedonia, about the year B. C. 300.
- Dialectic*, logical, argumental. Logic, or the art of reasoning, is called the *dialectic art*.
- Diet*. The general representative council of the states of Germany. The permanent seat of the *Diet* of the German *Empire*, till its dissolution in 1806, was at Ratisbon ; the seat of the *Diet* of the present German *confederacy* is at Frankfort on the Maine.
- Diogenes*, one of the most celebrated of the *Cynics*, a sect of philosophers founded at Athens, by Antisthenes, about the year B. C. 380. Diogenes carried the principles of this philosophy to their greatest extent, practising the sternest austerity of morals, and the most rigid temperance, and despising all the refinements of polished life. He died B. C. 324, at an advanced age.
- Dodona, oaks of*. One of the most ancient oracles of Greece existed at Dodona, a place in Epirus, or in Thessaly. The temple of Jupiter there was surrounded by a sacred grove, containing oaks, which were supposed to deliver oracles by the rustling of their leaves, which oracles were then interpreted, and announced by the priestesses of the temple.
- Druids*, priests of the ancient Gauls, or Celts, (the early inhabitants of Britain and France.) These priests possessed supreme authority in matters of religion, and exercised great control in the government of the state.
- Dshemshid*, or *Jemsheed*, an ancient king of Persia, much celebrated in Persian history and poetry, and represented as the most glorious monarch on earth. He is supposed to have reigned about eight hundred years before Christ, and to have founded the famous city of Istakhar, or Persepolis.
- Dynasty*, a government ; a succession of sovereigns.

- Eckhel, Joseph Hilary*, a learned Austrian, the author of various treatises on ancient coins, who was born in 1737, and died in 1798.
- Edicts*, decrees, a term applied particularly to the ordinances of the Roman emperors.
- Encyclopædia*, a work containing a systematic view of the whole extent of human knowledge, or of particular parts of it ; a general dictionary of knowledge.
- Ephori*, (inspectors,) magistrates of Sparta, five in number, chosen annually by the people. They conducted the internal administration, in the absence of the kings, and had an especial supervision of education.
- Epicureans*, a sect founded by Epicurus, a celebrated ancient Grecian philosopher, who lived about the year B. C. 300, and taught that the universe originally consisted of atoms of various forms, sizes, and weights, which were dispersed at random through the immensity of space, and, by their numberless combinations and intervolutions, formed bodies and beings of all kinds. "He also taught that the greatest good consists in a happiness, springing, not from sensual gratification or vicious pleasures, but from virtue, and consisting in the peace and harmony of the soul with itself. He recommended wisdom, moderation, temperance, seclusion from political affairs, gentleness, forbearance towards the self-love of men, firmness of soul, the enjoyment of decent pleasures, (so far as it does not incapacitate us for new pleasures,) and contempt of life. Freedom from pain he regarded as desirable, but, at the same time, he bore with fortitude the most excruciating pains of body. Although he distinctly showed the meaning of his doctrines by his own exemplary life, yet they have been often misunderstood or misrepresented. Thus an *Epicurean*, according to the *perverted* meaning of the word, is one who is devoted to sensual enjoyments, particularly those of the table."
- Equestrian order*, the order of *Equites*, or knights, in ancient Rome. Their number was not fixed. A certain amount of property was requisite to give admission to the order, which was made up from both patrician and plebeian families. At first, their duty was to serve the republic in war, on horseback ; afterward, to act as judges, and to collect the public revenues.
- Eremit*, (from the Greek, ἔρημος, *eremos*, a desert,) a hermit ; one who secludes himself from society, and passes his life in solitude.
- Ethics* ; morals ; the science which teaches the grounds and the rules of human duty.
- Eumenes*, a king of Pergamus, (a kingdom in Asia Minor,) who reigned about B. C. 250, and was a great patron of learning.
- Eumolpidae*, (descendants of Eumolpus, a king of Thrace,) priests of Ceres, who presided at her festivals at Eleusis, in Attica. All causes relating to impiety or profanation were referred to their judgement, and their decisions, though severe, were generally impartial.
- Falconet*, (Stephen Maurice,) a celebrated French sculptor of the eighteenth century. He wrote notes on a part of Pliny's Natural History, and other works relating to the arts. He died in 1791.

Fasti, Roman calendars, in which were marked the festivals, names of magistrates, &c., for the year. Certain poems of Ovid, which describe the causes of the Roman festivals for the whole year, are called *Fasti*.

Father of Medicine. See *Hippocrates*.

Fingal, Hall of, or *Fingal's cave*. A remarkable cavern in *Staffa*, a small island belonging to the Hebrides, (a group west of Scotland.) It is two hundred and twenty-seven feet long, one hundred and sixty-six feet high, and forty wide, supported on each side by ranges of natural columns. It derives its name from Fingal, a prince and hero of Scotland, who lived about A. D. 300, and is celebrated in the poems which bear the name of Ossian.

Flank, the outer extremity of the wing of an army. It is a common manœuvre, in battle, to attempt to *surround* this point, and thus to require the enemy to withdraw his flank and change his front ; this manœuvre is called *outflanking*.

Forceps, (Latin,) a pair of pincers. The arrangement of troops, for receiving the *cuneus*, (wedge,) described on page 210, was called *forceps*, and also *forfex*, (a pair of scissors.)

Forensic, (from *forum*,) belonging to judicial courts. *Forensic orations* are those delivered before courts of justice, or before other judges, on one or the other side of a contested question. *Forensic pleader*, one who argues before such courts.

Forum, among the Romans, any open place where markets and courts were held. The principal *forum*, in Rome, was a large and splendid open place, surrounded with porticoes, and ornamented with columns and statues, where assemblies of the people and courts of justice were held. Hence *forum* is often used to signify a court of justice.

Frankincense, a resinous substance flowing from a tree found in India and Arabia. It gives out an aromatic odor, when burnt, on which account it was used in the ancient temples, and is still employed in Roman-Catholic churches.

Galley, a low, flat-built vessel, furnished with one deck, and navigated with sails and oars.

Ganymede, a beautiful youth, great grandson of the founder of Troy, fabled to have been carried from Mount Ida (near Troy) to the seat of the gods, by Jupiter under the form of an eagle, that he might act as cupbearer to the immortals.

Gesner, Solomon, a native of Switzerland, and a pastoral poet of much celebrity, who was born in 1730, and died in 1787. He excelled also as a landscape painter and engraver.

Gouffier, (Marie Gabriel Auguste Laurent,) *Count de Choiseul*, peer of France, a man of learning and science, and celebrated as the author of travels in Greece and Asia. He was born in 1752, and died in 1817.

Guicciardini, Francis, a celebrated Italian historian and statesman, who was born in 1482, and died in 1583. His great work is a *History of Italy* from 1490 to 1534.

Guiscard, (Charles Gottlieb,) a German by birth, an able writer on military tactics. He was a favorite of Frederick the Great. A dis-

- pute having once arisen between them, respecting the name of the commander of Cæsar's tenth legion, in which Guiscard proved to be right, Frederick was afterwards in the habit of calling him by the name of this commander, (Quintus Icilius.) He died in 1775.
- Gymnastic exercises*; exercises adapted to develop the powers of the human body, and preserve them in perfection. The word is derived from the Greek, *γυμνος*, (*gymnos*, naked,) because, in Sparta, the young men engaged *naked* in these exercises, which originated there, and consisted in leaping, running, wrestling, &c.
- Haller*, (Albert von,) a celebrated Swiss physician, remarkable for his acquaintance with, and his voluminous and learned works upon, various branches of natural science. He was born in 1708, and died in 1777.
- Hanno*, a distinguished Carthaginian navigator, who made a voyage on the western coast of Africa, about the year B. C. 550, of which he has left the description. A Greek translation and abstract of his relation of his voyage is extant. There was also a celebrated Carthaginian General of this name.
- Heliastæ*, judges of the court of the *Heliaia*. See page 82.
- Heraclide*, (plural *Heraclides*, or *Heraclidæ*,) a descendant of Hercules. See remark under *Atridæ*.
- Herodes Atticus*, a native of Attica, who flourished about A. D. 150. He was remarkable for his wealth and accomplishments, held several public offices under the Roman emperors, (then masters of Greece,) and beautified Greece, Italy, and Asia, with many magnificent public buildings, baths, canals, statues, &c.
- Hesiod*, one of the oldest poets of Greece, a native of Asia Minor. Little is certainly known of him; he is supposed to have been a contemporary of Homer, and to have lived about nine hundred years before Christ. His principal works (of sixteen of which, however, only three remain) are, a poem called '*the Theogony*,' on mythology, and another on agriculture and domestic economy, styled '*Works and Days*.'
- Heronymus*, an historian of Rhodes, who lived about two hundred and fifty years before Christ. There were also several other celebrated persons of this name.
- Himilco*, a Carthaginian, sent to explore the western parts of Europe.
- Hindoos*, the original inhabitants of the East Indies, one of the most ancient nations, who were distinguished for their humanity, gentleness, industry, and advancement in letters and the arts, at a time when most nations of Europe and Asia were still only in the first stages of civilization. They have retained, to the present day, their language, government, customs of life, and religion.
- Hippocrates*, called the '*Father of Medicine*,' the most famous among the Greek physicians, was born in the island of Cos, B. C. 456, and lived to the age of ninety. He was a faithful and accurate observer, and spent the greater part of his life in visiting the different cities of Greece, for the purpose of improving in his art.
- Horatii*, (plural of *Horatius*.) In a war between Rome and the neighboring city of Alba, (B. C. 667,) the Roman and Alban armies, on one occasion, suspended the battle, which was about to

commence, and intrusted the fate of the day to three warriors on each side. These, on the side of the Romans, were three brothers, named Horatius ; on that of the Albans, three brothers, named Curiatius. The Horatii were victorious, and Alba submitted to Rome.

Huttonian theory, a system of geology, explaining the structure of the solid parts of the earth, by referring them to the action of fire. The author of this theory was James Hutton, a Scotch natural philosopher, who was born in 1726, and died in 1797.

Hypothesis, (Greek,) a supposition ; a system assumed but not proved.

Ideal, not actual ; existing in the mind alone ; imaginary.

Ihre, John, an eminent Swedish critic and scholar, Professor at Upsal. His researches relative to Ulfilas, (*which see*,) and the Mæso-Gothic dialect, display great learning and sagacity. He was born in 1707, and died in 1780.

Iliad, (from *Ilium*, or *Ilion*, the citadel of Troy,) a poem by Homer, which describes some memorable scenes of the war carried on by the Grecian chiefs against Troy.

Impost, a tax. To *farm an impost* is, to obtain, by paying a certain sum to the government, the right to all the revenue resulting from any tax ; the collection of which is then made at the risk of the farmer of the impost.

Improvisatori, the name given in Italy to poets who compose and declaim, extemporaneously, a poem on any given subject, or sing it, accompanying their voices with an instrument.

Insignia, badges of office, such as the crown and sceptre of a king, the mitre of a bishop, &c.

Institutions, the title of a treatise by Quintilian, upon rhetoric and oratory.

Islamism, Mohammedanism ; the religion of the followers of Mohammed.

Jamblichus, an eminent philosopher, a native of Syria, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century. One of his chief works is a Treatise on the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians.

Janizaries, a corps of Turkish soldiers, which formed, before its suppression in 1826, the bodyguard of the Turkish Sultan. This body of troops was numerous and formidable, consisting of picked men, and being disciplined with great strictness.

Jansenism, the doctrine of the *Jansenists*, a sect deriving its name from *Cornelius Jansen*, a Roman-Catholic Bishop at Ypres, in the Netherlands, who was born in 1585, and died in 1638, and who is remarkable as the originator of a great theological controversy with the Papal Court, which continued long after his death. Of the tenets of the Jansenists, and their history, no sufficient account can be given within the limits of a glossarial note. After the death of the *Abbé Paris*, (a French ecclesiastic, who died in 1727, an early victim to voluntary penances,) the Jansenists endeavored to revive their then sinking influence, by making his tomb the scene of certain pretended miracles, (such as cures and sudden conversions,)

but these found credit only with enthusiasts, and with the Parisian populace.

Janus, one of the Roman deities, not derived from the Greeks, but of Italian origin. He is by some supposed to have been one of the early kings of Italy, and to have reigned with Saturn, during the 'golden age.' He had a temple at Rome, the gates of which were open in time of war and shut in time of peace. They were shut, however, only three times in the long space of seven hundred years. One of these times was the year in which our Saviour was born.

Jornandes, a monk, who lived in Italy, in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, (about A. D. 550,) and wrote a work on the origin and history of the Goths.

Julius Africanus, a chronologer and historical writer, who was born in Palestine, and flourished in the early part of the third century. His *Κεστοί*, or *Cesti*, is a collection of passages from various writers, principally on physical subjects. The word signifies *embroidered*, and is quaintly applied by the author, as to a work of variegated and pleasing contents.

Julius Pollux, a scholar of the second century, who was born in Egypt, but settled in Athens, and read lectures there on ethics and eloquence. His '*Onomasticon*' is a catalogue or lexicon of Greek words, in twelve books. See page 178.

Κεστοί, (*kestoi*,) the title of a compilation by Julius Africanus, *which see*.

Klaproth, (Henry Julius von,) a very distinguished German linguist and geographer, born at Berlin, in 1783. He has devoted much time and research to the history, geography, and languages, of Asia.

Lava, a mass of mineral and earthy matter, thrown out, in a state of intense ignition, in a semifluid form, from volcanoes, during eruptions. The name is said to be derived from the Gothic *lopa* or *lauffen*, to run.

Legumina, (pulse,) a term embracing all such vegetables as peas, beans, &c.

Lentil, a vegetable much used for food in France, and along the Mediterranean. The seed, which is the part eaten, is contained in a pod, and is of a convex form. It is from its resemblance to a lentil seed, that the lens derives its name.

Leo VI. succeeded to the throne of the Roman Empire of the East in 886. His reign, which was a feeble one, continued for twenty-five years. He gave his name to several works, among which is a Treatise on Tactics.

Levant, (the East,) a term applied to the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, and of the Archipelago, from Constantinople, to Alexandria, in Egypt.

Livre, a piece of money used in France, before the Revolution; since which time it has been superseded by the *franc*, which is a piece of the same value, being equal to about nineteen cents.

Linnaeus, (Charles,) a native of Sweden, and the most celebrated naturalist of his age. He was born in 1707, and died in 1778. His life was devoted to the study of natural history. The science of botany, in particular, is greatly indebted to his labors.

- Lyceum*, an academy at Athens, in the covered walks of which, Aristotle explained his philosophy.
- Lycurgus*. Besides the Spartan lawgiver, there was an Athenian orator of this name, a contemporary of Demosthenes, some of whose orations are extant.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo*, a very celebrated Italian statesman and political writer, who was born at Florence in 1469, and died in 1527. His writings consist of historical works, and political, literary, and military, treatises.
- Manilius, Marcus*, a Latin poet of the age of Augustus, known only as the author of a poem on the stars.
- Manipulus*, one of the subdivisions of the Roman army, originally containing one hundred men, the same as a century, and under one commander, or centurion. It was afterwards divided into two centuries. The name (which means *a handful*) was taken from its ensign, which was originally *a handful of hay*, and afterwards a spear or staff with a cross piece of wood, sometimes with the figure of *a hand* upon it.
- Meibomius, Marcus*, a learned philologist of the seventeenth century, a native of Denmark. His principal work is an edition of seven Greek musical writers.
- Menander*, a very celebrated Greek writer of comedy, who flourished in the fourth century before Christ.
- Mengs, Anthony Raphael*, a native of Bohemia, was one of the most distinguished painters of the eighteenth century, and the author of several instructive works relative to his art.
- Metamorphoses*, (Greek,) transformations: the title of one of the principal poems of Ovid, in which he describes the various transformations of men, beasts, plants, &c., which form a great part of the fables of ancient mythology.
- Metaphysics*, the science which investigates the nature and relations of *being*; especially the nature of the human mind, and its relation to other existent beings and things.
- Michaelis, John David*, a celebrated German theologian, remarkable for his acquaintance with the Oriental languages. He died in 1791, at the age of seventy-four years.
- Montesquieu*, (Charles,) Baron, an eminent French philosopher and author, who was born in 1689, and lived to the age of sixty-six years. His great work, the '*Esprit des Lois*,' ('Spirit of Laws,') is an analysis of the principles and relations of the laws of states, and has been styled 'a complete code of national law.'
- Municipal*, of, or belonging to, a corporation, city, or district.
- Muratori, Lewis Anthony*, a distinguished Italian scholar, antiquarian, and historian, a voluminous writer, and an excellent editor of the works of others. He was born in 1672, and died in 1750.
- Must*, the newly-expressed juice of the grape, or of other fruits, before fermentation has taken place.
- Mysteries*, among the Greeks and Romans, were secret religious assemblies, which no uninitiated person was permitted to approach, and which were veiled under a profound secrecy. They were designed to interpret those mythological fables and religious rites,

the true meaning of which it was thought expedient to conceal from the people.

Mythology, (from $\mu\tilde{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, *muthos*, a tradition, tale, fable, and $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, *logos*, an account, description.) The mythology of a nation is the whole body of its traditions respecting its gods or fabulous heroes. By *ancient mythology* is usually meant that of the Greeks and Romans.

Nilometer, (Nile-measurer,) an instrument constructed by the ancient Egyptians, consisting of a rod or pillar, marked with the necessary divisions, for the purpose of ascertaining the proportionate increases of the flood of the Nile.

Nomadic tribes, tribes without fixed habitations, generally engaged in the tending and raising of cattle, and changing their abode as inclination prompts.

Northmen, (or Normans,) the ancient inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Odyssey, (from $\text{'}\text{O}\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, *Odusseus*, Ulysses,) the title of a poem by Homer in which are related the adventures of Ulysses, after the Trojan war.

Olympiad, a period of four years, connected with the celebration of the Olympic games. These games, the most solemn and splendid of the public games of the Greeks, were celebrated once in four years, at Olympia, in Elis. (See page 93.) The competitors exercised themselves, in preparation for the games, for several months previous. The games continued for five days, and consisted in races on horseback and on foot, in leaping, throwing the quoit, wrestling, and boxing; musical and poetical contests closed the whole. The honor of having gained a victory in these games, was very great, extending even to the country or native town of the victor. The Olympiads began to be reckoned from the year 776 before Christ, and the last Olympiad (the hundred and fourth) fell on the four hundred and fortieth year of the Christian era.

Olympic stadium, see *Stadium*.

Onomacritus, a soothsayer of Athens, who flourished about five hundred and sixteen years before Christ. Certain poems, ascribed to other writers, are by some supposed to be the productions of his pen.

Onomasticon, see *Julius Pollux*.

Orchestra, (from the Greek $\text{'}\text{O}\rho\chi\eta\sigma\tau\eta\rho$, *orchester*, a dancer,) the space in theatres, in front of the stage, appropriated, among the Greeks, especially to dancers, among the Romans, to senators, and by the moderns, to the musicians.

Orgies, the mystic rites and wild revels celebrated in honor of Bacchus, the fabulous god of the vine. The term has hence been applied to any scene of riotous mirth and excessive revelry.

Ormuzd, one of the spirits mentioned in the sacred books of the ancient Persians, and represented as the first-born of all beings, the king of the world, the eternal source of sunshine, sitting upon a high throne, in the midst of heaven, and surrounded by celestial spirits.

Ossian, a celebrated bard, the son of Fingal, (a Caledonian, or, ac-

- cording to some, an Irish, hero.) He flourished about A. D. 300. Whether any of the numerous poems attributed to Ossian, and published by James McPherson, a Scotchman, about the year 1765, are properly to be ascribed to him, or are forgeries, has been, and still is, a disputed question.
- Osymandyas*, one of the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt, who flourished about fifteen hundred years before Christ. He was the founder of the magnificent city of Thebes.
- Ottoman*. From *Osman*, or *Othman*, the founder of the Turkish empire, who flourished in the thirteenth century, the Turks derive the name of *Osman*, or *Ottoman*, Turks. The proper national appellation, however, is *Osmanli*.
- Outflank*. See *Flank*.
- Paedonomi*, (a Greek word, signifying directors of children ;) Spartan magistrates, who superintended the morals and education of youth.
- Pallas*, one of the names of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom.
- Pallas*, (Peter Simon,) a celebrated traveller and naturalist, born in 1741. He was by birth a German, but was invited to Russia by the Empress Catharine, and made exploring excursions into various parts of that empire, the results of which were of great value to science and natural history.
- Panathenaia*, (from *πᾶς*, *pas*, all, and *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Athenaios*, or *Athenian*,) a festival in honor of Minerva ; so called, because it was solemnized by all the tribes of Athens.
- Panathenaicus*, the title of an oration of Isocrates, which is a panegyric on Athens.
- Panegyricus*, the title of an oration of Isocrates, in which he exhorts the Greeks to concord, and to war against the Persians.
- Panionium*, (from *πᾶς*, *pas*, all, and *Ἴωνες*, *Iones*, Ionians,) a place of assembly of all the Ionians.
- Pantomime*, a dramatic piece, exhibited by gestures and mute action ; a piece of buffoonery.
- Paris*, the son of Priam, King of Troy. It was before Paris (who, having been exposed in infancy, was now a shepherd on Mount Ida) that Juno, Venus, and Minerva, appeared, that he might award to one of them the golden apple, which the goddess of discord had thrown, as the prize of beauty, into the assembly of the gods. This is the celebrated *judgement of Paris*. The prize was adjudged to Venus.
- Paris*, the *Abbé*. See *Jansenism*.
- Pastoral*. Those poems are called pastoral poems, or idyls, in which the life and manners of *shepherds* are described, rustic characters introduced, and rural scenes presented.
- Paucton*, (Alexis,) a French mathematician, who was born in 1732, and died in 1799. He was the author of a treatise on the Weights, Measures, and Moneys, of all countries, ancient and modern.
- Peltastæ*, troops, so called from the pelte, (*πέλτη*,) a small light shield, which they carried.
- Phaeton*, according to the ancient fable, was the offspring of the sun,

(Phæbus.) He obtained permission to drive, for one day, the flaming chariot of his father, but was unable to guide the celestial horses, and perished amid the destruction which resulted from his rashness.

Philippics, the orations of Demosthenes against Philip, King of Macedonia. Cicero applied the same term to his invectives against Antony, and it has hence come to signify an invective in general.

Piræus, the harbor of Athens, about three miles distant from the city, with which it was connected by two fortified walls.

Pisistratidæ, the descendants of Pisistratus. See remark under *Atridæ*.

Playfair, John, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh. a very distinguished natural philosopher and mathematician, and the author of various scientific works. He was born in 1749, and died in 1819.

Pollux, see *Julius Pollux*.

Polymnia, or *Polyhymnia*, one of the Muses. The seventh book of Herodotus (the nine books of whose history bear the names of the nine Muses) is called *Polymnia*.

Polytheism, the worship of several or many gods, opposed to *monotheism*, the worship of one god.

Poppæa, a Roman matron of great beauty, the wife of a Roman knight, who was forced to resign her to Otho, (then one of Nero's generals and favorites,) who married her. She afterwards attracted the admiration of the Emperor, who sent Otho out of Italy, on pretence of the public service, divorced his own wife, Octavia, and married Poppæa. She died (A. D. 65) of a blow received from the foot of the tyrant.

Prætor, (signifying, primarily, a magistrate, a governor,) the title of a magistrate among the Romans, next to the consuls in rank, whose office it was to administer justice. At first, there was but one; but the number was afterwards increased, till, under Julius Cæsar, there were ten.

Primipilatus. The Roman armies were arranged in several divisions and subdivisions. The third line in battle was composed of veteran soldiers, of approved valor, and was called *triarii*. This was originally subdivided into *manipuli* or *centuriæ*, each containing a hundred men, under the command of a centurion. Afterwards, each maniple was further subdivided into two centuries. The chief standard was always in the first maniple of the *triarii*, which was styled *primus pilus*, or first pilus or maniple, and the centurion of this maniple was called *primipilatus centurio*, that is, centurion of the first pilus or maniple, and had precedence over the other centurions.

Primitive, or *primary, rocks*, those which are usually found the lowest in the layers of rocks which make up the crust of the earth, and are therefore supposed to be the oldest, as to the date of their formation.

Proconsul, the title of the governor of a Roman province.

Projectile, a term embracing all weapons which are *thrown*, whether from the hand, as spears and slingstones, or from artillery or other engines, as balls and large stones.

- Proscription*, tables of, lists, containing the names of persons *proscribed*, that is, sentenced to death.
- Ptolemies, the.* See *Alexandria*.
- Pulse*, a general term for such vegetables as peas and beans.
- Pyre*, a funeral pile ; a pile of combustibles, on which it was the ancient custom to burn the bodies of the dead.
- Pythagoras*, a very ancient Grecian philosopher, who flourished in the sixth century before Christ.
- Quæstors*, Roman magistrates, who managed the public treasury. At first, there were two ; but their number was afterwards increased, as their services were required in the provinces, till, in the time of Julius Cæsar, there were forty.
- Ramayana*, the title of one of the great poems which form a part of the sacred books of the Hindoos. The author's name was Valmiki or Valmic.
- Rhapsody*, a series of poetical effusions and descriptions, separate, but having a certain connexion with each other, such as were anciently sung by wandering minstrels.
- Rostrum*, (more properly *rostra*,) an elevated stage, in the forum of Rome, whence the orators used to harangue the people ; so called, from its being adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) taken from the enemies' ships, in one of the early wars of the Romans. These *beaks* were sharp points of brass, fixed at the prows of ships of war.
- Sagas*, heroic tales, historical, romantic, and fabulous, forming part of the ancient Scandinavian literature, which includes the literature of Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, before their conversion to Christianity.
- Sanxoniathon*, a Phœnician historian, who flourished a few years before the Trojan war, or about twelve hundred years before the Christian era.
- Satrap*, the governor of a Persian province called a satrapy.
- Saturn*, a divinity of the ancient mythology, the father of Jupiter. The age of Saturn, or the Saturnian period, in Italy, was the period when Saturn, dethroned by his son Jupiter, having fled to that country, established a kingdom there. During this period, celebrated by the poets as the *golden age*, perfect peace, tranquillity, and freedom from suffering and toil, were represented to have prevailed.
- Savi*, (Italian,) *wise men* ; Venetian magistrates, sixteen in number, chosen by the members of the senate (which contained from one hundred and twenty to two hundred and twenty members) out of their own body. They formed a part of the council of state, and possessed considerable powers in the republic.
- Saxe*, (Maurice,) Count de, a German by birth, and a son of the King of Poland. He possessed a remarkable genius for military affairs, and served in various wars, till he finally was made a field-marshal in the French service. He died in 1750, aged 54. He is the author of a treatise on the art of war.
- Schloezer*, a very eminent German scholar and historian, Professor at Göttingen, and author of valuable works upon the history of the

- nations of the North of Europe. He was born in 1737, and died in 1809.
- Septuagint*, or, abbreviated, LXX, (from the Latin *septuaginta*, seventy,) the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures, said to have been made by *seventy-two* learned Jews, by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, in the third century before Christ. Little dependence can be placed on the authenticity of this story of its preparation.
- Seraglio*, the palace of the Turkish Sultan, in Constantinople.
- Skuking*, or *Shu King*, a work ascribed to Confucius, the great Chinese moralist and lawgiver, who lived about the year B. C. 550.
- Soldier*, in its primary sense, one who serves for *sold*, (German, for military pay.) See page 143.
- Sophistry*, false or perverted reasoning.
- Stadium*, (plural *stadia*,) an ancient measure of length, containing six hundred and twenty-five feet, or about one eighth of a mile ; a furlong. The *race-course* at Olympia was called *stadium*, which hence was applied to race-courses in general ; the usual length being a *stadium* in measure.
- States-general of France*, an assembly of deputies, in which were represented the clergy, the nobility, and the *third estate*, or body of citizens at large. The states-general were convoked thirty-three times between A. D. 1302 and 1614 ; and again, after an interval of one hundred and seventy-five years, in 1789.
- Steppe*. The *steppes* of Russia in Asia are elevated plains, of great extent, partly desert, and partly susceptible of cultivation, and affording pasturage for the herds of the wandering tribes.
- Stoics*, a sect of ancient philosophers, founded by *Zeno*, who taught his doctrines at Athens, about the year B. C. 300. They were so named, from the *στοά*, *stoa*, (porch, or portico,) where he taught. The Stoics held, that virtue is the highest good ; that the passions and affections are to be held under strict control ; that the pains and pleasures of sense are alike to be disregarded ; and that man should live according to the laws of consistent reason.
- Suffetes*, see page 106.
- Swiss confederacy*. See *Confederacy*.
- Symbolical*. When philosophical ideas or spiritual truths are conveyed to the mind by the agency of *symbols*, (emblems or images,) addressed to and apprehended by the senses, they are said to be expressed in a *symbolical* style.
- Terah*, the father of Abraham. See Genesis xi. 26.
- Theocritus*, a celebrated Greek pastoral poet, who flourished about the year B. C. 280. He is the oldest known author of idyls, or pastoral poems.
- Thesmothetæ*, a Greek word, signifying legislators. (See page 83.)
- Thrasea Pætus*, a Roman senator and Stoic philosopher, of the age of Nero. He was a native of Patavium, a city of Italy, and was distinguished for his integrity and patriotism, and for the highest nobleness and firmness of mind. He was one of the victims of the tyranny of Nero.
- Tiresias*, a prophet, of Thebes, in Greece, much celebrated in the

ancient mythology. He was fabled to have been changed, in his youth, into a woman, and to have remained so, for seven years, when he was restored to the form of a man.

Tribunate, the office of tribune.

Tribune, a title given at Rome to certain military officers, and also to certain officers connected with the public treasury. The most important officers with this title were the *tribunes of the people*, whose duty it was to defend the rights of the plebeian order against the encroachments of the patricians. By pronouncing the word *veto*, (I forbid,) any tribune could prevent the passage of a decree of the Senate, and stop the proceedings of the magistrates.

Triopium, or *Triopium*, a promontory of Caria, (in Asia Minor,) near the sea. On this promontory was a temple of Apollo, where the Dorians celebrated games in honor of this god.

Tripod, (from the Greek *τρίπους*, *tripous*, three-footed,) a cup or vase supported on three feet. Tripods obtained as prizes in public games were often deposited by the victors as offerings in temples.

Triumph, the highest reward of a victorious Roman general. It was an honor decreed by the Senate, and a spectacle of great magnificence. The triumphal procession, in which the conqueror rode, preceded by a long train of musicians, victims for sacrifice, spoils of the vanquished, and captives, and followed by his friends, the citizens, and the army, proceeded through the principal streets to the Capitol, where thanks and sacrifices were offered to the gods. A sumptuous feast closed the celebration. An *ovation* was a triumph of a less honorable and splendid kind.

Triumvir, a member of a *triumvirate*, or coalition of three men. The first triumvirate at Rome consisted of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; the second of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus.

Trophy, a monument in commemoration of victory, formed of captive arms; any memorial of victory.

Twelve Tables. The laws prepared by the decemvirs (see pages 197, 198) were engraved upon ten oak tablets, to which two others were afterwards added, and the whole code was known by the name of 'the laws of the Twelve Tables.'

Ulfilas, a learned bishop of the *Mæso-Goths*, (the Goths in Dacia and Mæsia,) in the fourth century. He translated the Bible into the Mæso-Gothic dialect. Fragments of this translation remain.

Usher, James, an eminent scholar, and Archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland. He was born in 1580, and died in 1656. His 'Annals of the Old and New Testament' is a work of the highest authority in chronology.

Valmic, see *Ramayan*.

Velleda, a German prophetess, in the first century, of whose history little is known. She exercised great influence over her countrymen, and was much feared by the Romans.

Venus of Cnidos, *the*. The statue of Venus at Cnidos was a masterpiece of Praxiteles, (one of the greatest Grecian sculptors, who flourished about three hundred and fifty years before Christ.) The goddess of beauty is represented as rising out of the bath.

Veto, see *Tribune*.

Volney, (Count de,) a very celebrated French writer and traveller, who was born in 1755, and died in 1820.

Winckelmann, (John Joachim,) a very distinguished German scholar, who devoted himself to the study of ancient and modern art, and has made the most valuable contributions to this branch of knowledge. He was born in 1717, and died by the hand of an assassin, in 1768.

Zeno, see *Stoics*.

Zenobia, a princess remarkable for her accomplishments and learning, the wife of *Odenatus*, King of Palmyra, (in Syria.) After the death of her husband, (who, for some services rendered to the Roman Emperor Gallienus, had been declared 'Emperor' by him,) she assumed the title of 'Queen of the East,' (A. D. 267.) The Roman Emperor Aurelian made war upon her, and besieged her in her magnificent capital, Palmyra. She attempted, after a vigorous but unsuccessful defence, to escape, but was taken captive, and carried to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her life.

Zerdusht, or *Zoroaster*, a distinguished reformer of religion, supposed to have lived about five hundred years before Christ, and to have been a native of Media, where he first taught, and whence his doctrines spread into Persia. For a notice of his system, see page 322.



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